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**F R E E   T R A D E**  
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A VIEW  
OF  
THE PRESENT STATE  
AND  
FUTURE PROSPECTS  
OF THE  
FREE TRADE & COLONIZATION  
OF  
INDIA.

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED.

“ No sovereign, I confidently believe, has ever yet traded to profit, no trading company, I greatly fear, has yet administered government for the happiness of its subjects ”

*Speech of Lord Grenville, April 9, 1813.*

LONDON:  
JAMES RIDGWAY, 169, PICCADILLY,  
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1829.

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## A VIEW, &c.

A thorough freedom of commercial intercourse between the European and Indian dominions of the Crown, and an unrestricted settlement of Englishmen in India, are the grand and essential instruments for improving our Eastern Colonies, and rendering them useful to the mother country. Every one knows that it is the freedom which has existed in respect to these two essential and indispensable points which, even in spite of blundering legislation, neglect of the mother country, inauspicious localities, and occasional imprudence on the part of the settlers, has assured the rapid prosperity of almost every colony which England ever possessed ; and it is unquestionably the interdiction of the same freedom which has made the Indian commerce always insignificant—often retrogressive ;—which has made our Indian territory, from our first acquisition of it down to the present moment, a heavy burden to the mother country, and which has, for the most part, after sixty years rule, kept our Indian fellow-subjects in the same unaltered state of poverty and barbarism in which we found them.

The few following pages will be devoted to an examination of the question of Free Trade and Colonization in India ; and we imagine it will be no difficult matter to demonstrate to all accustomed to a fair exercise of their reason, that, whether as regards the interests of Indians or of Englishmen, both are equally useful, equally safe, and equally necessary. We may truly aver, that for a full century at least, reason, common sense, and the principles of science, have been alike set at defiance to serve the purposes of a party ; set at defiance, as experience has amply attested, for the virtual purpose of obstructing the commerce of England, and arresting the progress of improvement in India. It is impossible to recur without pain and

mortification to the too successful efforts which were so perseveringly made, even as late as the year 1813, nay, as late as 1821, to mislead and abuse the judgment of the nation and legislature in respect to the government and commerce of India. We were told, in a tone of oracular authority, and on the alleged experience of two centuries, that the trade between Great Britain and India was wholly incapable of extension; that we could furnish nothing new which the Hindoos wanted, nor the Hindoos produce any thing new which we required. We were told, in one breath, that the Hindoos were so peculiar a people, that they would be driven into a rebellion, which would cost us the loss of our dominion, on account of the mere resort of British merchants to their country; and in another, that if such resort were permitted, India would soon be peopled with Englishmen, and her gentle aboriginal inhabitants exterminated, or reduced to the condition of helots. Then we were told that the Hindoos were a good and moral people, and would only be depraved by an intercourse with Englishmen. And, finally, we were assured that the existing administration was quite perfect; in short, that the Indians, hating changes of every description, were enamoured of monopoly and of all its consequences.

Let us first attend to the triumphant refutation which the free trade has given to the statements and predictions of its opponents. In the year 1794, or the first of their former Charter, the East India Company exported to India and China to the official value of £2,924,829. In 1814, or the last of the Company's enjoyment of an exclusive monopoly, they exported only £1,699,125. Their trade in twenty years, in short, had not increased, but fallen off by £1,225,704. But lest this should be considered an unfair statement, we shall go further back, and view the progress of the Company's trade by periods of six years, from the year 1790 to 1814 inclusive. In the first period, the average of the Company's annual exportations was £2,520,871; in the second it was £2,362,375; in the third it was £2,153,288; and in the fourth only £1,740,137, or more than 30 per cent. less than it was in the first. During the whole time in question, the Company had an exclusive monopoly against their countrymen: during a great part of it, the French, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Americans were driven by the arms of Great Britain from the

field of competition. During the whole of it they had not less than forty millions of native subjects, and latterly half as many more, and at the moment they enjoyed the least trade, they were in full occupation of all the French, all the Danish, and all the Dutch possessions; in short, they had a field of commercial enterprise which was limited only by the Cape of Good Hope on the one side, and by Cape Horn on the other.

In the first three years of free trade, the official value of the exports from Great Britain to India and China averaged £2,364,358; in the second they rose to £3,002,662; and in the third to £4,294,487;\* the free traders having to sustain the unfair competition of the East India Company, and the competition of all the commercial nations of Europe and America, while they were wholly excluded from the market of China. In short, in nine brief years they had raised the Indian exports by 70 per cent. beyond what they had ever attained under the East India Company, and by 146 per cent. beyond what that East India Company had reduced them, after the piddling of more than 214 years.

In 1814, the last year of the Company's enjoyment of the exclusive monopoly, their whole exports from Great Britain to India amounted, in declared value, to £1,571,245; in 1823 they amounted only to £458,550; in 1824 to £624,780; in 1825 to £598,553; in 1826 to £990,964; and in 1827 to £804,778.† The average of the five years thus quoted makes the trade of the East India Company to India, after they had acquired a prodigious addition of territory, and an augmentation of subjects to the amount at least of three and twenty millions, by £875,720, or 55 per cent. less than it was thirteen years before.

Let us now advert to the progress of the free trade. In the year 1824, or at the conclusion of the first ten years, the exports by the free trader amounted, in declared value, to £2,839,796; in 1825 to £2,574,660; in 1826 to £2,625,888, and in 1827 to £3,903,006.‡ The reader will not fail to contrast this steady

\* *East and West India Trade*.—Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 15th May, 1827.

• † *East India Trade*.—Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 10th and 11th June, 1828.

‡ *Ibid.*

progression of legitimate commerce with the fluctuation always, and retrogression generally, of monopoly traffic, as both are exhibited in these statements.

A statement of the East India Company's commerce with China, where they enjoy an exclusive monopoly against their countrymen with 150,000,000 of the most industrious and wealthy people of Asia, as well as the exclusive right of supplying the United Kingdom with one of the first necessities of life, will afford results equally unsavourable to them. In 1814, as we have already stated, the declared value of the Company's exports to China was £987,788; in 1823 they fell to £708,047; in 1824 they were £612,139; in 1825 they were £744,858; in 1826 they were £852,030; and in 1827 they were only £493,815.

The average of these five years makes the trade £682,177, or £305,611, or 30 per cent. less than it was in 1814. In the year 1827 the whole exports to India, where the trade was in some measure open, rose, in thirteen years, to £4,707,784, or sustained an advance of nearly 200 per cent. In the same year, under the close trade, the exports to China fell off to £493,815, or sustained a decrease of 30 per cent. Such is the result of a partial free commerce, still struggling against restraints, against mischievous exclusions, against local monopolies, and against the competition of an arbitrary government; and such the result of the labours of a joint stock company bolstered up by all the privileges and immunities which a mistaken legislation could confer upon it.

Turning to the import trade, we find that the sum total of our imports from India and China, in the year 1814, amounted, in declared value, to £6,298,386. On the average of the five years ending 1827, they amounted to £10,543,417, or had sustained an advance of £4,245,031. This shows an increase of little more than 67 per cent, whereas the increase in the exports is no less than 200 per cent. The difference, although there be many other obstacles to the import trade, is principally to be accounted for by the stationary character of the trade in tea, the great article of the consumption of this country imported from the Indies. On the average of the first five years ending with 1814, the importation of tea into this country amounted, in value, to £3,229,497: on the average of the five years ending with 1827, it was £4,258,654, which shows an in-

crease only of about 32 per cent. Rejecting from the imports of 1814 the value of tea, or £3,527,320, the amount for that year will be £2,771,066; and following the same course in regard to the imports in the five years ending with 1827, they will be found, on an average, to amount to £6,241,162, being an increase, not of 32 per cent., but of 120 per cent. But for the monopoly of tea, the increase, as in every other wholesome branch of commerce, would have equalled the exports, and both would, by this time, have been infinitely greater than they are. Our whole imports from India and China amounted, in 1814, as just stated, to £6,298,386. On the average of the five years ending with 1827, those from India alone amounted to £5,866,343; in 1826, they indeed exceeded them by £95,901. In the last year of which the statement is before us, or 1827, (tea excluded in both cases,) they exceeded them by £3,089,013, or by no less than 111 per cent.

In 1813, the East India Company assured us, that, "of 54,000 tons allotted for the private trade since 1793, only 21,806 tons had been actually used by private merchants, and these filled wholly with commodities for the use of Europeans." The reply to this is tolerably complete: in 1823, there entered inwards 49,378 tons of shipping, and cleared outwards 50,016; in 1824, 52,091 tons entered inwards, and 49,785 cleared outwards; in 1825, there entered inwards 43,934 tons, and cleared outwards 57,990; in 1826, there entered inwards 58,968 tons, and cleared outwards 56,577; and in 1827, there entered inwards 61,270 tons, and cleared outwards 73,890. The tonnage for this last year, it will be observed, exceeds in amount, by considerably more than a threefold proportion, the amount which the East India Company thought sufficient, and it *was* sufficient, under their patronage, for the free trade of India for twenty years together.—What proportion of the tonnage now specified belonged to the East India Company, the official returns afford us no means of determining, but that it was notoriously a trifle; and that that trifle was notoriously employed in carrying on a losing trade to the detriment of the nation, there is no question.

But it is not the direct intercourse between India and Great Britain alone which has been improved by the relaxation of the East India Company's monopoly. The local commerce of India has also benefited largely from the impulse given to

it even by the small addition of British capital and enterprise, which has followed the partial opening of the trade. Thus, the whole export and import trade of Calcutta, in the last year of the East India Company's close monopoly, was £6,911,774. On the average of the first seven years of free trade, every article of export or import having fallen greatly in price, the trade rose to £11,158,889, being within a small fraction of the same amount as the whole trade of the port of London 120 years ago.

But perhaps the most remarkable example we have of the success of free trade is exhibited in the history of the little settlement of Singapore, a barren islet, and having only the advantage of a convenient locality. In the commencement of the year 1819, not ten acres of the primeval forest which covered it was cleared, and its whole inhabitants consisted of about three hundred beggarly Malays, not only possessing no industrious habits, but notorious and dangerous pirates. We have before us the account of its exports and imports for the year ending the 30th of April, 1828, and find that their joint amount was £2,875,800. The exports alone amounted to £1,387,201, that is to say, they exceeded the declared value of the exports of the East India Company from the whole United Kingdom to all India and to all China, in the corresponding year, by £88,608, giving the Company the advantage of all their civil and military stores; but observing, on the other hand, that they did not contribute a shilling towards the amount of the Singapore exports.—Our whole trade in the Straits of Malacca, in 1814, was short of a million sterling. At present it considerably exceeds £4,000,000.—The trade of Bombay and its dependencies has, in like manner, sustained a vast increase.

A rapid view of a few of the staple articles of export to India, and of the staple productions of that country, will exhibit in a clear and incontrovertible manner the evil effects of the existing system. We begin with the articles of export. The most valuable and important export of this country to India consists of cotton manufactures. This branch is nearly altogether in the hands of the private trader, and so it advances from year to year. In the year 1814 the East India Company exported manufactured cottons to the value of £16,252. This was all that the Company effected for the grand staple

manufacture of the kingdom. In the same year the free trader exported to the value of £74,673. The total number of yards of cotton cloth exported to India in 1814 was 818,208, and of cotton twist 8lbs. In 1827 the value of cotton manufactures exported to India was £1,923,487, of which the East India Company exported only £21,550 1s. 11d. worth. The total number of yards of cotton cloth exported was 42,919,222, and of cotton twist, 3,063,968lbs. Of the first, the share of the East India Company was 630,639 yards, and of the second, 412lbs. In thirteen years the East India Company's trade in cotton manufactures had advanced very little more than 32 per cent. ; that of the free trade had advanced in the same time by 3832 per cent. The export of cotton manufactures to India constitutes little less than eleven parts in the hundred of our exports to all parts of the world, in this grand staple of our industry. This is undeniably a great and valuable branch of the national commerce, but that it has not attained its acme may easily be proved. It has hardly reached the Chinese Empire at all, a country of rude manufacturing industry, in comparison with Great Britain, and a country in which the raw material is so dear as to be yearly imported in great quantity. Hindostan alone contains 134 millions of people, for whom the supply of 1827 will afford little more than three-tenths of a yard a-head ; but to this must be added the population of India beyond the Ganges, of the Indian Islands, of Persia, and of Arabia, amounting in all, probably, to not less than 50 millions. For this aggregate population of 184 millions, 42,919,222 yards would afford little more than two-tenths of a yard for the consumption of each individual. If we add 150 millions for the population of China, the supply will not amount, for each individual, to much more than one-tenth of a yard. There is nothing too sanguine in such speculations. Any reasonable expectations may well be entertained of a branch of trade which, labouring under many grievous restrictions, has, in the short period of thirteen years, advanced from the paltry sum of £90,925 to £1,923,487, and which is conducted with such skill and economy that the consumer now receives his goods at about one-third of the price which they cost at that time.

The East India Company have always dealt in woollens, and, to the infinite detriment of the fair trader, they still perse-

vere in doing so. The woollen trade, therefore, to India, not to mention that the free trader is wholly excluded from China, the great market for that commodity, affords a very different result from the cotton trade. In 1814 the total value of woollens exported to India, including China, was £1,084,435, of which the East India Company exported £1,064,222, and the free trader only £20,213. In 1827 the total exports of woollens to India and China amounted in value only to £817,159, or had fallen off by 23 per cent. The East India Company exported of this amount to India £126,320, and to China £413,412, or in all, £539,732, and the free trader to India only £277,427. The export of the free trader had advanced, therefore, on the limited field of India, by above 1272 per cent., and that of the East India Company had declined by 49 per cent., or, in other words, fallen to nearly one-half of what it had been thirteen years before. India, situated either within the tropics, or within ten degrees of them, although affording a considerable market for woollens, bears in this respect no comparison with the Chinese Empire, which stretches to the 53d degree of north latitude; China, in short, is the grand staple for woollens. Even the transactions of the East India Company themselves show this uncontestedly. In the year 1791, when they had a complete monopoly both of the markets of India and China, their exports of woollens to the former amounted in value only to £8,680, whereas those to the latter were worth no less than £486,993. An experience of six and thirty years has not only not increased the Chinese exports of woollens, but even reduced their amount by full 15 per cent.

The East India Company, notwithstanding these unsuccessful and humiliating results, perseveres, with unaccountable tenacity, in maintaining its monopoly of the woollen trade to China: it even forbids the officers of its own ships from being concerned in this favourite branch of trade; and in India, while the exportation of every other article to China (Turkey opium excepted) is free, it has enacted a law expressly prohibiting all British subjects from supplying the Chinese with this great staple of British industry! The incapacity of the Company to supply the Chinese market has conferred a very useful privilege on the commercial rivals of this country. The Russians supply the Chinese from the north, and the Dutch and Americans from the south. The British trader has the satisfaction

of seeing the ships of the latter nation *legally* clear out from the ports of the United Kingdom with cargoes of woollens and other British manufactures, while no British ship can presume to engage in such a commerce, and while the law declares even a participation in the adventure, on the part of the British merchant, to be a misdemeanour. The woollens alone sold by the Americans in China, in 1825-6, amounted in value to £145,465. The woollens furnished by the East India Company to the Chinese nation, in 1827, were worth £413,412, which would supply them with woollen clothing to the value of little more than a halfpenny a-head! In all reason this is surely not sufficient to meet the demands of luxury in the southern portion of the population, or those of necessity in the northern. That the East India Company does not adequately supply the Chinese market, that is to say, supply it with woollens of suitable quality, and at prices which will enable the Chinese to purchase, is but too obvious, or the Americans, with their small capitals, and their small demand for the staple produce of Chinese industry, could not find it a profitable speculation to supply them indirectly, through Great Britain, with a British manufacture. We may safely then venture to predict, that in the event of a free intercourse with China, British woollens will inevitably become one of the first and most important of our exports to that vast country. The Chinese, in reality, have nothing good or cheap enough to substitute for them, and even at present they find their way to Pekin and Tartary. The market for foreign furs which that country affords, and which has been exclusively supplied by Russia and America for many years, is a sufficient proof of the great demand for warm clothing. In consequence of the destruction of the animals affording those furs, they have become too high priced for the Chinese to purchase to the former extent, and consequently the consumption is gradually narrowing. Here is fresh evidence of a demand for British woollens, the only cheap and natural substitute for the furs in question. We put it to the common sense and common interests of the wool growers and woollen manufacturers, whether the free trade, which, in fourteen years, raised the cotton exports to India from £90,925 in 1814, to £2,059,374 in 1828, does not afford them a fairer prospect of extending the consumption of woollens, than the

patronage of the East India Company, according to the faithful statement which we have just rendered of its history?

The East India Company had long been in the habit of sending metals, as well as woollens, to India and China; and, indeed, their exports to those countries were nearly altogether confined to those two articles. On the average of the eleven years, from 1781 to 1791, they exported to the yearly value of £141,985; the export of the last year named amounting only to £108,560, and being less by full £55,318 than that of the first. They exported to China in the same period, to the yearly value of £48,827, so that their total average exports were £190,812. In 1814, the first year of the free trade, the total quantity of metals exported to India was 14,334 tons, and the total value £494,970. Of this the East India Company exported 9,813½ tons, value £374,583, and the free trader only 4,520½ tons, value £120,387. In 1827, the total quantity exported rose to 34,093 tons, and the value to £768,985. Of this quantity the East India Company exported only 8,512 tons, and the free trader 25,580 tons. This subject, however, requires explanation. The metals exported in 1814 consisted only of iron, steel, copper, tin, and lead:—the free trader has now added brass, quicksilver, and spelter. The East India Company deals only in iron, copper, and lead, relinquishing the three last-named metals to the free trader, and the benefits of this relinquishment are remarkable.

The total quantity of iron exported in 1814 was 11,108 tons, of which the East India Company exported 7,085 tons, and the free trader 4,023 tons. The quantity of iron exported in 1827 was 19,261 tons, an increase only of 73 per cent. Of this the East India Company exported 5,423 tons, and the free trader 13,838 tons. In the first period the exports of the East India Company exceeded those of the free trader by full 76 per cent. In the last they fell short of them by 60 per cent.!

Of the whole quantity of iron worth £282,098, China was furnished only with 1,973 tons, and to the value of £26,336. With a population nearly equal to all the rest of the Indies, with wealth far superior, and a demand as effectual, she received little more than one-tenth of the whole supply. The competition of the East India Company has unquestionably hindered the progress of this branch of trade; that competition, however, is confined to their continental possessions and China.

it is owing to the freedom from it elsewhere that the trade has chiefly advanced. The iron exported to foreign Indian possessions in 1827, and in which the East India Company had no share, amounted to 2,262 tons, and that to the British territories to 15,790 tons. From the latter, however, ought to be deducted the exports to Ceylon as well as to the possessions in the Straits of Malacca. We have no means of ascertaining the amount of these, but we perceive that by the official account of the commerce of Singapore, which did not exist as a port of trade in 1814, that in 1827-8 the British iron re-exported from that settlement alone, that is, the actual and *bona fide* sales to the consumer, amounted to 4,942 tons. This alone will account for a large share in the increased export of iron since 1814, so that in all likelihood the advance, where the Company's competition prevails, is very trifling, if any.

In 1814 the total quantity of copper exported to India and China was 1,881 tons, valued at £242,239. Of this the East India Company exported 1,505 tons, and the free trader but 376 tons. In 1827 the quantity exported was 2,613 tons, an increase of 38 per cent.; the East India Company now exported only 168 tons, or about a ninth part of what they had exported thirteen years before. The free trader exported 2,445 tons, or between six and seven-fold more than he had done in the commencement of his trade. The quantity of copper furnished to China by the East India Company out of the 2,613 tons above mentioned (but in which, however, is included brass and manufactures of the two metals) was 23 tons 14 cwts.

By the last Charter\* the East India Company was compelled to export, or to allow others to export, British copper to the extent of 1,500 tons a year, and this whether copper was high priced or low priced in England, and whether it was in

\* 33d Geo. III. cap. 57, sec. 84. By the agreement made between the Legislature and the East India Company, in 1769, the Company engaged to export British merchandise to the yearly value of £380,837, when they had an entire monopoly trade from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, and about forty millions of Indian subjects. This is about one-tenth part of the amount of what the free trader now exports to India alone, and scarcely one-fifth part of what he exports in the single article of cotton manufactures. This contrast surely entitles us to exclaim, in reference both to the East India Company and to the administration, in the language of the French merchants to the French minister, "Let us alone."

demand in India or not in demand. The free trader, as will be seen from the statement now given, exported 63 per cent. beyond this quantity, without any compulsion at all,—without the aid of an Act of Parliament, and sheerly for his own profit and convenience, which, however, are equally the profit and the convenience of the producer in England and the consumer in India. The East India Company, when not compelled by Act of Parliament, has exported scarcely more than one-ninth part of what it did under legislative compulsion !

In 1814 the total quantity of lead exported to India and China was 726 tons, valued at £19,393 ; the East India Company exporting 605 tons, and the private trader 121 tons. In 1827 the exports amounted to 4,488 tons, of which the East India Company exported 2,546 tons, a large portion of which, however, appears to consist of military stores. The free trader exported only 1,942 tons, which, however, is an advance of more than 1,500 per cent. upon his first attempt. Of the exports of the East India Company, 1,660 tons, valued at £33,359, were for the market of China. Deducting this, therefore, from the whole amount of the Company's exports, there will remain for India only 886 tons, which is exceeded by the free trade by nearly 120 per cent.

The consumption of spelter or zinc in India has always been large. About £50,000 worth of this commodity, under the name of tutenague, used to be imported from China, whence it was smuggled,—the exportation of it from that country, as, indeed, of all other metals, being contraband. In 214 years the East India Company had not discovered that tutenague and spelter were one and the same metal, under different names. The free trader soon did, and spelter now forms one of the most valuable and important of our exports to India. In the five years ending with 1827, spelter was exported from this country to India to the amount of 32,553 tons, (being at the rate of upwards of 6,000 tons per annum,) and to the value of £685,532. This branch of trade may, indeed, be considered as one of entirely new creation, for India is the only market which Great Britain has for the commodity. The Indians are now supplied with this article at about one-fourth of its cost when it was supplied by China, and probably to the extent of treble the quantity.

There exists no longer a necessity for violating the Chinese

*mercantile system*, for we perceive that, in the year 1826, Calcutta, the principal Indian mart for zinc, was supplied from that country only to the value of £5 14s. But we are far from being the only dealers in this article; the French, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Americans, have followed the example of the British free trader, and export largely to India.

The East India Company has followed, but at a remote and humble distance, the example of the free trader in respect to zinc. In the five years already quoted, they exported to the amount of 308 tons 11 cwts. or at the rate of 61 tons 14 cwts. per annum, being in the proportion of 1 to 104 of the quantity exported by the free trader in the same period.

To the metals now enumerated, we may add tin, steel, wrought and unwrought brass, pewter wares, and tin plates, plated ware, jewellery, machinery, small arms, and cannon. These, which are all the produce of British industry, were exported in 1827, to the declared value of £766,375, or, excluding military stores exported by the East India Company, and which must, of necessity, be exported by any British government exercising the sovereignty of India, to the value of £536,590. The exportation even of these minor articles then exceeds by 40 per cent. the whole boon conferred by the Legislature upon British manufactures and industry, when the East India Company, bound hand and foot, came under obligations to export British produce annually, to the pitiful amount of £380,837.

But the great mart for the consumption of the metals is China, and this, as is too well known, is still under all the rigours of the monopoly. What may be effected by the British trader and manufacturer in this market, may be gathered from what has actually been performed under many obvious disadvantages by the Americans. In the year 1825, the total amount of the metals (consisting of quicksilver, copper, iron, and lead) sold by them in China was 1687 tons, and its value £98,222. Two years later, or in 1827, the quantity of metals exported to China, by the East India Company, was 3656 tons; this, however, consisted almost entirely of the low priced metals, iron and lead, so that the declared value was but £62,582. Deducting 25 per cent. from the American metals, in order to approximate them to the declared value of the British metals, we shall find that the trade carried on by the Americans, who

have no metals of their own to furnish to the Chinese, but who must go and seek for them in foreign countries, exceeds, under the auspices of the East India Company, that of the whole United Kingdom, abounding in metals, and in manufacturing industry connected with the metals, by full 17 per cent.

The unqualified assertion of the East India Company, in 1813, was, that after giving "facilities and enlargements" \* to private enterprise and adventure never enjoyed before, "not one new article for the consumption of India had been exported," in a period of nearly twenty years, and that there was "little perceptible difference in the few articles of metals and woollens" which had composed the routine of traffic under the monopoly. The whole trade in cotton manufactures and cotton twist, in lead, spelter, quicksilver, brass, tin plates, and machinery, and the vast augmentation in quantity, and improvement in quality, to suit them to the taste of the consumer, in the exports of woollens, iron, cutlery, and copper, are pretty satisfactory

\* The "facilities and enlargements" here alluded to amounted to 3000 tons of shipping a year, of an inferior class to the Company's own shipping, at freights, in peace, (of which, by the way, there was none,) of £11 per ton, and in war, of from £22 to £26, or occasionally of £44, when private freights had the honour of being conveyed in the *first class* of the Company's shipping,—the Company having, besides, the sole disposal and sale of the free traders' property, and being protected by statute from being answerable for loss, damages, or defalcation. It is impossible, at this distance of time, not to wonder at the extraordinary intrepidity of these speculations. We quote from the report of a Select Committee of East India Directors, made in 1813. This notable document concludes by a warm reprobation of the author of the "Wealth of Nations," for having prognosticated a probable increase in the Indian commerce, and a hearty approbation of the President Montesquieu, for having differed with Dr. Smith and agreed with themselves. "In the period which has elapsed, of nearly forty years," say the Directors, "since he (Dr. S.) first published his work on the Wealth of Nations, the endeavours of all Europe and America have made no discovery of that immense market for European manufactures which he said was offered by the East Indies." Surely this is not fair of the Directors towards Dr. Smith, when they themselves, armed with legislative privileges and monopolies, were the sole cause that prevented the Doctor's prognostic from being fulfilled. A man who habitually stands at his door with a blunderbuss, threatening to blow out the brains of any one who crosses his threshold, might just as well complain that he had no visitors—although he might proclaim in the streets that his abode was the mansion of hospitality.

answers to these confident and lugubrious predictions. Other articles might easily be added. Glass and earthenware, for example, heretofore confined, under the monopoly, to the European consumer, have now, by their cheapness, beauty, and suitableness, begun to reach the natives of the East from China to Arabia. The first of these articles is by far the most considerable in amount; and we find that, on the average of the five years ending with 1827, the total annual value of it sent to India was £118,299.

To these proofs, that India is an extensive market for the consumption of European productions—to this overwhelming mass of evidence in support of what was once called “nothing but a sanguine theory” and a “deplorable delusion,”\* we do not know that the advocates of monopoly have ventured to say any thing beyond throwing out a hint now and then, that the private merchant is carrying on “a losing trade.” It is a strange losing trade, that for fourteen years has gone on increasing year after year, and which, at the end of the period, is near 40 per cent. more than at the beginning of it. The East India trade, like all other distant branches of trade, is necessarily precarious, from the imperfect information which is naturally incident to great distance; and if to these difficulties adventurous ones are superadded, (and many are,) the blame rests with the rulers of India, and with those who legislate for India, but cannot, with any show of decency, be charged to the private merchant. What is indiscretion and folly, however, in the free merchant, is to be considered, on the part of the East India Company, as virtue, patriotism, and disinterestedness! The East India Company itself has exhibited to us, in detail, various specimens of the benefits in this way, which it has conferred upon the nation. The following are examples of the favours so conferred:—In the six years of the Charter which terminated in 1793, they exported to their own settlements in

\* “There seems to be a general and deplorable delusion respecting the practicability of a vast extension of the sale of the manufactures of this country in India and China, and of the productions of those countries here. On the side of the merchants there is nothing but a sanguine theory. On the side of the Company there is the experience of all the nations of Europe for three centuries; there is the testimony of ancient history; there are the climate, the nature, the usages, tastes, prejudices, religious and political institutions of the Eastern people.”—*Report of the Committee of Correspondence to the Court of Directors, 1813.*

India, British manufactures to the value of £1,563,016; upon which they sustained a loss of £27,966. In ten years of the same Charter they exported to China and Persia British manufactures worth £2,908,769, and here there was a dead loss of £203,453. During their last Charter, their commercial losses, by their own showing, amounted to four millions sterling, and Lord Grenville was of opinion that the estimate was "much within the truth." In the investigation which took place in 1820 and 1821, the Company exhibited a statement of its export trade from Great Britain to China for six and twenty years, embracing a portion of the present Charter; and here it appeared that they lost upon every year but three, and that in all they sunk £1,668,000 of the capital of the nation. "Their losses on export from this country (said the same illustrious statesman) are not even disguised; their advocates proclaim the fact, and even boast of it: yet, if loss is incurred in this case, by whom is it sustained? Not by the Directors themselves,—that would be wholly unreasonable; not by the proprietors of India stock,—they receive, and must receive, their undiminished dividends. The loss falls on the public treasury—on the people of England."\*

We shall now advert to the staple productions of Indian commerce, composing, for the most part, the imports into Europe.

Of all the obstacles to the progress of the Indian trade, the most injurious is the exclusion of the industry, example, and capital of Europe. It is in vain to expect that either the agriculture, the arts, or the commerce of India can ever become of the vastness and importance of which they are susceptible, until improved and extended by the unlimited and unshackled application of British capital and intelligence. The free settlement of Englishmen then is loudly called for, as a measure not only of expediency, but of real necessity, if India is ever to be rendered a valuable acquisition to this country. The whole productions of Indian industry that are abandoned to the exclusive management of the natives, through the restraints and penalties of the monopoly, are inferior to the similar productions of every other tropical country; they are not only inferior

\* Speech of Lord Grenville, in his place in Parliament, April 9, 1813.

to the productions of British colonial industry, but to those of French, Dutch, and Spanish, even to those of Portuguese industry; they are in every case also inferior to the corresponding productions of Chinese industry. To what is this to be ascribed, but to the slovenliness and ignorance of a semi-barbarous people? The whole is a mere affair of civilization; and in so far as the Hindoos are inferior to Europeans and to Chinese in real skill and intelligence, so must be the productions of their agricultural, their manufacturing, or their any other kind of useful industry.

We shall bring before our readers, in a tabular form, a few of the articles of East Indian produce, in which their great inferiority to the corresponding productions of other countries is exemplified. We give the highest quality in each case, a comparison extremely favourable to East Indian articles; for it is only the very best qualities of these that ever find their way to the markets of Europe at all, the middling and lowest kinds being either consumed on the spot, or exported for the use of less fastidious consumers than those of Europe. Indigo, the sole production of the Indian soil which receives any thing like adequate benefit from European capital and direction, is also the sole exception to the inferiority of Indian productions. What has been effected in this, it is clear enough may be effected in every other commodity, if we do not wilfully and wantonly make positive laws to prevent it, which, in reality, is the course we have hitherto pertinaciously pursued.

ARTICLES.	British India.	British West Indies.	United States.	Brazil.	Spanish America.	Mauritius and Bourbon.	Java.	Egypt and Turkey.	China and Siam.	Italy.	France.	■ Netherlands.
Sugar... <sup>■</sup> cwt.	35 0	47 0	40 0	48 0	38 0	...	...	33 0	...	...	...	...
Cotton... <sup>■</sup> lb.	6 5	8 0	8 0	0 8	...	0 10	0 8	...	...	...	...	...
Coothineal <sup>■</sup> lb.	1 2	...	...	...	11 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rice... <sup>■</sup> cwt.	23 0	...	37 0	...	...	...	...	...	38 0	...	...	...
Turmeric <sup>■</sup> ct.	24 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tobacco <sup>■</sup> lb.	0 2	...	0 15	...	0 54	...	...	...	21 0 28	...	...	...
Raw Silk. <sup>■</sup> lb.	18 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Castor Oil... <sup>■</sup>	0 18	0 30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coffee... <sup>■</sup> cwt.	34 0	88 0	...	42 0	42 0	...	38	...	...	...	...	...
Indigo... <sup>■</sup>	9 10	...	...	...	8 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madder... <sup>■</sup>	30 0	...	...	...	...	...	42 0	...	54 65	...	...	...

\*The soil and climate of India must, in no respect, be charged with the rudeness and imperfection of Indian products. Our

own dominions, extending from near the equator to at least the thirteenth degree of north latitude, and from the sixty-third to the ninety-sixth of east longitude, embrace a prodigious diversity of soils and climates, capable of yielding an infinite variety of useful productions, calculated to enrich the country and to extend its foreign commerce, and for the improvement or creation of which an infusion of European skill, capital, and enterprise are alone necessary. It is notorious that without these the unaided skill of the native Indians is unequal to the production of any commodity where such capital, skill, and enterprise are demanded, so as to give them any chance in a fair competition with the parallel products of other countries, similarly, or even less advantageously gifted.

What but the exclusion of European settlement hinders in our Indian dominions the extensive culture of the peculiar productions of America, and even of China? The indigenous products of India have been transferred to America, and there, under the direction of European skill, they far surpass, in goodness and quantity, those of their original country; witness the sugar-cane, the cotton plant, coffee, rice, and even indigo, until, in its native country, the production of this last fell into the hands of Europeans. Have the Indians retaliated upon the American colonists? Where is our Indian annatto? Where is our Indian cocoa,—our Indian vanilla? The hardy plant producing the annatto, (*Bixa Orellanna*) introduced from America, is to be found as a garden plant throughout India, but the drug obtained from it is wholly unknown to the Indians as an article of commerce. The plant producing the cocoa, although cultivated in the Spanish, and even in the Dutch East Indies, is unknown in the British possessions. The cochineal insect, and the plant it feeds upon, introduced into British India by an ingenious European, have, in rearing and culture, reverted to the hands of nature and the care of the Indians, and Mexican cochineal, consequently, exceeds it in value by full 500 per cent.

India is in a similar predicament in regard to China: situated close to that country, in daily intercourse with it, receiving yearly into our settlements thousands of emigrants from thence, having a population of cheap labourers, by character peculiarly adapted to the tedious manipulation indispensable to the preparation of tea, an advantage which no other colony enjoys, or

is likely for a long time to enjoy, and possessing the same soils, climates, and physical aspects as the most favoured of the tea provinces of that empire, not one pound of tea has ever been grown in our Indian possessions,—not one attempt has been made to rear this valuable plant in British India, while such efforts have been frequent in distant and uncongenial European colonies. Owing to the superior skill of the Chinese, both as agriculturists and manufacturers, they are enabled to export a large quantity of sugar, of quality much superior to that of India, although having to contend against the high rents incident to a country fully peopled, and where the price of corn is, probably, not less than threefold as great as in the average of the Indo-British dominions. We may add, that such is the unskilfulness of the Indians in almost every thing approaching to manufacturing industry, that the whole, or very nearly the whole of the refined sugar consumed by Europeans in our East Indian possessions, is imported from China, the natives of the country being all the while acquainted with the process by which the article is prepared, yet producing it in so careless and slovenly a manner as to make it unfit for any table but their own.

In whatever direction we turn our eyes, the effects of Indian imbecility and the baleful consequences of European exclusion are equally conspicuous. The Indian forests, for example, hardly afford any commodity fit for foreign exportation, because the Indians know not how to turn them to account, and Englishmen are prevented, by express law, from doing so. In 1825, the United States of America exported no less than 18,479 tons of pot and pearl ashes, worth £430,038, and England and her colonies form their principal market; for to these we find that she exported no less than 13,322 tons of the whole quantity.\* British India has never exported, or even manufactured, a grain of either commodity, although much of the country be still under forest;—although the manufacture of these articles would greatly add to the facility and profit of clearing the lands;—and although much of the forests in question are not far distant from the British capital, and have the convenient navigation of the Ganges and its tributaries to the

\* A general statement of goods, wares, and merchandise, of the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States, exported, commencing 1st October, 1826, and ending 30th September, 1827.

very port of Calcutta. The Chinese have a fanciful taste for a certain root, called *ginseng*, which existing with them only in small quantities in the wilds of Tartary, brought in former times an enormous price. The Americans soon found out that the same root (*panax ginseng*) existed in the wilds of America; they acquired the art of preparing it for the Chinese market, and have since largely supplied the Chinese with it. This supply, of course, produced a great depreciation in the value of the article, and yet, notwithstanding, we find that the Americans in the season 1824-5 sold *ginseng* to the Chinese to the value of £39,064. Now, British botanists have discovered the same article in the British territories bordering on the Snowy mountains, but the art of curing it remains unknown, and the British trader has never supplied the Chinese with a single pound !

There is one article, however, the produce of the Indian forests, of which something has been made, not, however, by the East India Company, or by the native inhabitants, but by the free trader; this is *lac*, a production peculiar to India, and which, as is sufficiently known, is the nest or dwelling of a small insect abounding in a red colouring matter. The price of the best description of the crude article in the market of Calcutta is about 33s. per cwt. Some of the free settlers discovered the art of extracting the dye and rendering it fit for the European manufacturer. This valuable article is known in the market by the name of "lac dye," and is about nine times the value of the article as it was sent in ruder times to Europe. But to this value we must add again what is called "shell-lac," used in the making of varnish, and the manufacture of sealing-wax, and which is obtained in the same process. This will make the value of the whole produce by the new process, which is attended with little labour or expense, eleven times as great as that of the crude article ! The Indians, after a time, acquired the art of preparing lac dye from the Europeans, but the manufacture conducted by the first is still superior in value to that conducted by the second by near 60 per cent ! On the average of the years 1826 and 1827 the quantity of lac dye imported into England from Bengal, to which the manufacture is confined, was 744,484 lbs., and the value £107,121. This article, which is little more than a fourth part of the price of cochineal, has, in many cases, become a substitute for it in the dying of scarlets. Here then is a fair example, although

upon a small scale, of what European ingenuity is capable of effecting in improving the productions, and consequently the commercial intercourse with Europe, wherever there is the least room for its exercise.

If we look to the mining operations of the Indians, we shall find (as every one capable of taking a rational view of man in such a condition of society must expect) conspicuous examples of carelessness, incapacity, want of capital, and want of enterprise. The metals generally are not very abundant in the British dominions in India, but iron is plentiful enough, and even the supply of copper ore is said not to be deficient. The iron manufactured by native Indians is so bad that it is not of half the value of English iron, nor a third part of that of Swedish iron; in fact, when forged it loses one half its weight in dross. Mineral coal is found in many parts of the British dominions, and it is a singular proof in a country, where, for the most part, fuel is remarkably high priced,—of ignorance, poverty, and want of enterprise, that no coal mines were ever opened until this was done by private European speculators. At present, coal mines are wrought in one part of the country only, and this by a private European adventurer; but from the want of machinery, capital, and competition, and the inferiority of the coal, as is always found to be the case in the first stratum, the article is still dear, and not in adequate quantity, so that we find coals actually exported to the East India Company's possessions from Great Britain, in 1827, to the amount of 4127 tons, besides a large quantity brought from New South Wales, a country where British industry is differently regulated.

But it will be necessary to give a more detailed account of some of the staple articles of the Indian commerce, in order to illustrate the advantages derived from European industry, the mischiefs which arise out of its exclusion, and the long train of evils which originate in restrictions and monopolies. We shall select the articles of indigo, cotton, sugar, tobacco, coffee, and pepper, as the most prominent examples.

Indigo is the article which suffers the least from the pernicious interference of the monopoly, and nearly the only one which receives any considerable benefit from the direct application of European skill and capital. Europeans first began the culture and manufacture of indigo about forty-five years ago. What was manufactured by the natives of India prior to

that time was trash unfit for the European market, then almost wholly supplied by South America, which furnished England alone with about 1,200,000 lbs. weight. There are at present in Bengal 309 manufactories of indigo for exportation, of which thirty-seven only are conducted by natives, and these in imitation of the European process. The Indians, however, cannot even imitate us to any advantage with so many examples before them, and in full possession of all the land, to the complete exclusion of their competitors; for the indigo thus prepared is full 15 per cent. lower in value than that manufactured by Europeans; and as to indigo made by the old native process, it is still wholly unfit for the foreign market: and even when re-manufactured by Europeans, which is sometimes done, it is still, from the deterioration it has undergone in their hands, a very inferior commodity. The average yearly quantity of indigo produced for some time back in the British dominions in India has ranged from eight millions five hundred thousand to nine millions of pounds weight, worth from £2,700,000 to £3,300,000. Last year's produce, the greatest ever known, amounted to 12,000,000 of pounds weight. Here is a property worth, on an average, £3,000,000 per annum, created solely by the skill, capital, and enterprise of British-born subjects living in India, on mere sufferance. In 1786, the import of Bengal indigo into this country was 245,000 lbs. On the average of the four years ending with 1827, it amounted yearly to 6,054,799 lbs. an increase of nearly five and twenty-fold. Before Europeans undertook the culture and manufacture of Indian indigo, it was, as already stated, so bad as to be unsaleable in any foreign market. On an average it is now about 12½ per cent. better than South American indigo. In short, about four-fifths of the consumption of Europe, Asia, and America, is now supplied with *good* Indian indigo, a commodity which, five and forty years ago, had no existence. The benefit which some of the most important manufactures of Great Britain derive directly from this improvement on the part of their countrymen in India, is too obvious to be insisted upon. On the average of the four years ending with 1828, the total yearly consumption of Great Britain was 2,421,879 lbs. of which one-eleventh part only was South American, the whole of the rest being East Indian. The benefit generally conferred by the manufacture of Indian indigo on the manufac-

tures and commerce of this country, amounts to this, that it is the principal, and nearly the only, means to be depended upon, which the monopoly-principle leaves open to enable India to pay for the manufactures of this country, and that it does so to the yearly value of three millions sterling.

All that can be said in respect to indigo is, that it *suffers less* than other articles from the injurious effects of the monopoly-principle. To say, however, that it does not suffer, would be most untrue. The prohibition to hold lands, or to take security on lands,—a tax equal to half the gross produce of the land imposed upon those who hold it,—the precarious and dependent footing of Europeans living beyond the protection of the King's Courts; the imperfect administration of justice in the interior;—and the hostile leaning of the Government and its agents towards all the private enterprises of British subjects,—are most serious obstacles to this branch of industry. One would, indeed, have thought, without knowing the results, that they must have proved insuperable impediments to a branch of industry which is the only one that Europeans have been able to prosecute with success in India upon a large scale. But the vigour and elasticity of British enterprise are capable of conquering many difficulties, and this is a proud example of it. The Company, indeed, does not directly engage in the culture of the plant or manufacture of the drug, and to this unusual forbearance may chiefly be ascribed the success of this branch of industry. The drug, however, is no sooner manufactured and arrives at the principal marts, than the usual interference of the Company commences. Under pretext of remitting revenue, they enter into a competition with the private dealer as purchasers in India, and as sellers in England, totally reckless of consequences to themselves or others, as must necessarily be the case with a body to whom commercial gain or commercial loss must be matter of equal indifference, since from the one they can derive no advantage, and since from the other the public alone must eventually suffer.

The following facts respecting the cotton trade will place the principle, which it is our object to illustrate, in a very clear point of view. In the year 1814, or the last of the East India Company's close monopoly, the quantity of cotton wool imported from India into Great Britain was 2,850,318 lbs.: in 1818 it rose to 67,456,411 lbs., but afterwards fell off greatly from

this amount, and on the average of the five years ending with 1827 it was only 18,821,217 lbs. The cause of this is obvious enough. The rude produce of unassisted native industry is wholly incapable of competing with the improved produce of European industry in the different colonies of America and elsewhere. The best East India cotton, which is that brought to this country, (for the coarsest is consumed on the spot, and the middling sort sent to China,) is inferior in value to the worst that is brought from any other country. It is, in short, nearly in the condition in which Indian indigo was before it was manufactured by Europeans. The East India cotton in the London market is inferior to the best West India cotton by threepence per pound. It is just of half the value of Berbice cotton. The best cotton of the Spanish main is by full 50 per cent. superior to it. Pernambuco and modern Egyptian cotton\* are at least 60 per cent. better, while it must not be forgotten that the old Levant cotton is just what it was before,—a coarse commodity, fit for no purpose but that of making candlewicks, to which it is well known to be appropriated. Bourbon, Manilla, and Sea Island cottons are superior in a still greater ratio. To what is such an inferiority owing, but to this, that the skill of Europeans is directed to the culture and preparation of all these varieties, while the East India cotton is left to the rude and slovenly industry of the native inhabitants? In fact, no attempt whatever has been made to improve the cotton of India. It is grown and prepared just as it was three hundred years ago, and in all likelihood three thousand. The soil and climate of India must not be blamed for this. They are equal in capability to those of any other portion of the tropical world

\* The reader is not to imagine that the Turks, or the Arabs, or the Copts of Egypt, acquired all at once the art of growing fine cotton, on the mere fiat of the Pacha. A Frenchman of the name of Jumel introduced a new species, or, at least, variety, of the plant, and instructed Mahomed Ali, his officers and slaves in general, in the European mode of cultivation and preparation. As appears from the examination of their mummies, the Egyptians seem to have been cultivating cotton to little purpose, as far as quality is concerned, for about four thousand years! Monsieur Jumel did more for the improvement of this branch of husbandry in a few months, than the primitive civilization of the East, when left to itself, had been able to effect in forty ages. So much for a people, who, in manners, customs, and civilization, are said to bear the nearest resemblance, of all others, to the Hindoos!

and superior to the greater number. Cotton is not an article of difficult production, or one requiring a capricious selection of soil and climate. The enumeration of varieties which we have above given, shows that a moderate share of skilful culture is sufficient to bring it to perfection in any soil of competent fertility and suitableness in North and South America, in Africa, and in Asia, from the equator to the thirtieth degree of latitude, on both sides of it; and, in longitude, from the Philippine Islands, on the one side, round to the Mauritius on the other. Why, it may be asked, do not British-born subjects engage in the culture of cotton in the same manner in which they engage in the culture and manufacture of indigo? The answer is easy. The quantity of British capital which is allowed, under existing regulations, to benefit the agriculture of India, is comparatively trifling; and it is more advantageously employed in producing indigo than in improving cotton. A few hundred acres of land are sufficient to invest a large capital in indigo, and a very small number of Europeans is sufficient for superintendence. Thousands of acres would not be sufficient for the same investment of cotton. From the small number of Europeans, there could be no adequate superintendence over so wide an extent of country; and there could be no security against depredation, in a commodity far more liable to it than the other. Moreover, to improve the cotton of India, the present annual and coarse varieties must be supplanted by perennial and fine ones,—a circumstance which would occasion a complete revolution in this branch of husbandry,—a revolution which could only be effected by European proprietors or their tenants. Besides all this, the introduction of expensive machinery, both for cleaning and packing, would be necessary. What European in his senses, holding land at high rent from a native proprietor, from year to year, in a country where no civil suit is brought to trial under three years from its institution, and often not under seven; and where, by law, he may be removed from his property for ever, with or without offence, would enter upon so precarious a speculation?

It must not be inferred from what has here been stated, that the free enterprise and capital of Europeans have done nothing towards improving and extending the Indian cotton trade. They have effected a great deal which would have remained

undone without them. The whole trade in this article with China, one of the greatest branches of the Indian commerce, is of European creation. European capital and agency operating under the most vexatious restraints, is employed in collecting the cotton, and transporting it from the centre of India to the sea-ports, compressing it by European machinery when it arrives there, so as to reduce freights to half the old rates, and in furnishing shipping for its transport to China. This is the work of a few scattered Europeans, living in India on sufferance, and in open opposition to the principle of the monopoly. Englishmen, in general, are wholly excluded from a branch of trade which is of unlimited capability. Of this capability we may give the following example. The quantity of cotton wool brought to the market of Calcutta, in the year 1827, principally for exportation, amounted to 18,509,696 lbs. This, which forms the largest portion of the export trade of India in raw cotton, appears considerable, until compared in amount, and still more in value, to the export of the same commodity from the United States. The latter, in 1827, or the same year, amounted in quantity to 294,310,115 lbs. or to about fifteen times as much. The value of the East Indian produce on the spot was but £270,830, and that of America £6,330,651, being above three and twenty-fold the value of the Calcutta produce. Had the 18,509,696 lbs. of Bengal cotton, in lieu of being coarse and dirty, been equal in quality to the American cotton, instead of being worth £270,830, it would have been worth £398,138, or 47 per cent. more. Wherever we turn, evidence of this nature crowds upon us.\*

The consumption of cotton in Great Britain for the last ten years has been nearly doubled, and in 1828 it amounted to 732,152 bags. Let us see to what extent the British dominions in India, adding to them those of tributaries, with a suitable soil and climate, with 134,000,000 of inhabitants, and with 1,280,000 square miles of territory, have contributed, under the management of the East India Company, to the promotion of the greatest and most important of all our manufactures. On the average of the years 1827 and 1828, the annual consumption of Great Britain was 197,544,880 lbs.; of which the United States of America furnished 151,834,800 lbs.;

\* American exports and imports, for 1827.—*Calcutta Prices Current for 1827.*

Brazil, 17,754,880 lbs; Egypt, 6,957,600 lbs; the West Indies, 9,010,560 lbs.; and the East Indies, 11,987,040 lbs. The deductions to be made from this statement are sufficiently conclusive, but they are, at the same time, humiliating. We depend upon a rival commercial nation, and a nation which aims at becoming a manufacturing one in spite of nature and circumstances, for near seventy-seven parts in the hundred of the raw material of our great staple manufacture. The colony of a nation not only less civilized than our own, but emanating from one of the least civilized in Europe, furnishes us, from territories in the southern hemisphere, corresponding in latitude and in climate with much of the British dominions in the northern hemisphere, with nine parts in the hundred of our consumption. Egypt, where the growth of exportable cotton commenced only seven years ago, furnishes us with four parts in the hundred of all we consume; and the dominions of the East India Company, where British sovereignty has been established for sixty-four years, contributes only the pittance of seven parts in the hundred to the material of our staple manufacture. This is, however, very far from depicting the whole amount of the mischief done by the exclusion of European improvement from the soil of India, even in this limited view of the evil. The United States of America not only furnish us with above twelve times the quantity that the territories of the East India Company do, but that quantity being full fifty per cent. more valuable, the true amount contributed is in reality eighteen-fold as great. Brazil not only furnishes us with above forty-eight per cent. more in quantity than India does, but the quality of what she supplies being by seventy-five per cent. better, she necessarily supplies 160 per cent. more in value. But what is still more mortifying than all this, Mahomet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, in as much as the average of his cotton is above 80 per cent. better than the average of Indian cotton, contributes more towards the support of our great staple manufacture than the Honourable East India Company by 5 per cent. It appears by the American accounts, that, in the official year ending the 30th of September, 1827, the United States exported to Great Britain and Ireland, 212,707,481 lbs. of cotton wool, which would have afforded employment to about 118,170 tons of shipping \* By the same

\* American exports and imports, for 1827.

accounts it appears, that of the tonnage which cleared out from the United States from Great Britain and Ireland in that year, 218,519 tons were American, and 99,114 only British. If the exportation of cotton wool was in a due proportion to that of other articles of merchandise, (and there is no reason for supposing that it was not,) it would necessarily have afforded employment to 81,297 tons of American shipping, but only to 36,873 tons of English shipping. On the other hand, were our East Indian possessions capable of supplying us with the cotton which we must now receive from the United States, the British tonnage employed, instead of being 36,873 tons, would, of course, amount to 118,170 tons, or there would be additional employment for British shipping to the extent of 81,297 tons. To what extent does the Indian cotton afford employment to British shipping? Just to the extent of 8,900 tons, as nearly as we can estimate it.\* If such statements as these,—statements which no ingenuity or artifice can gainsay, do not open the eyes of the merchants, the manufacturers, the shipowners, and the landholders of the United Kingdom; in short, of all who are interested in the honour, power, and prosperity of their country, to the flagrant evils inflicted by the system of exclusion, we know not what will.

The quantity of sugar imported into Great Britain from the East Indies, in 1814, was only 4,904,368 lbs.: in 1826 it rose to 38,399,536 lbs. No less than 20,859,440 lbs., or more than one-half of this last amount was the produce of the island of Mauritius; that is to say, the imports into this country from a small island with an area of 372,528 acres, one-eleventh part of which only is under any culture, and one-fifteenth only under the culture of the sugar-cane;—the imports from an island with a somewhat precarious climate, and a fertility of soil not very distinguished;—the imports from an island that at the utmost contains a population of no more than ninety-five thousand inhabitants; and, finally, the imports from an island of which the British nation had possessed the sovereignty but twelve short years, are greater in the grand staple of the tropical world, not only than those of all British India, of which we have possessed the sovereignty five times as long, with its area of

\* *East India trade.*—Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed: June, 1827.

600,000 square miles, its population of eighty-three millions, its fertile soil and its genial climate, but larger than those of the whole Eastern world put together, (the said small island excepted,) embracing a population of certainly not less than 300,000,000 of people. In the first year of the free-trade system, the importations of sugar from India rose to 13,923,616 lbs., or owing to the mere impetus given by the cheap freights and abundant capital of the English trader, they were augmented at once by near 65 per cent. The Indian sugars, however, could neither be imported good enough, nor cheap enough, for the consumption of Europe, and for some time the importations were little better than stationary. In due time, however, the manufacture of sugar commenced in the Mauritius, and within four years from the time that the system of free trade came into operation, there were imported from that island into Great Britain 5,678,888 lbs.; this was in 1819. In the following year there were imported from the same place 14,524,755; and in 1823, 27,400,887,—an augmentation of 382 per cent. in four years. It was not until 1823 that the duties on Mauritius sugars were equalized with those of plantation sugars, and the increased culture in consequence of this boon did not affect an earlier period in the Mauritius than 1827, when it was believed the produce of the island would equal fifty millions of pounds.

The inequality of duty between Mauritius and other East India sugars is not the cause that the trade in the one article has been stationary, and in the other advancing with an extraordinary rapidity of increase. A new soil, as yet un-exhausted by bad husbandry, the introduction of European machinery, and the superintendence of European resident proprietors, are the true causes. During the last eight years there have been sent to the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, but chiefly to the latter, by a single iron-founder, no less than two hundred sugar mills,\* the greater number of them with steam-

\* Mr. William Fawcett, of Liverpool, a gentleman of great ingenuity, and who has for many years conducted one of the most extensive iron foundries in the kingdom. The value of mill-work and machinery exported to the Mauritius, in 1827, amounted, in value, to £44,532; while to the whole territories of the East India Company, adding to them the island of Ceylon, the exports were only £21,984; the greater part of the latter being for the use of the local government.

\* Imports and exports. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed: Feb. 24, 1829.

engines attached. To the territories of the East India Company not one has been sent. There, under the present system, no such improvements are introduced, or are capable of being introduced. The existing system is, in fact, based upon the exclusion of European skill and capital, which is equivalent to the exclusion of all effectual skill and capital, from the improvement of the soil and its productions. Consequently, the sugar-cane continues to be grown in continental India by the same rude husbandry, and to be manufactured by the same miserable process as, in all probability, it was three thousand years back.

A short description of the Indian modes of growth and manufacture will, at once, show the reader that it is hopeless to expect from them either a good or a cheap product. The grower is a miserable peasant, without skill and without capital, paying, as a tax, to the East India Company, from 50 to 60, and even 70 per cent. of the gross produce of the soil,—who neither manures his ground, understands how to relieve it by a rotation of crops, or makes any attempt whatever to improve the variety of the plant.\* The sugar-mill consists of two small rollers, from four to six inches in diameter, turned in opposition to each other, by two men, or by a wretched bullock. The boiling utensils are four small coarse earthen pots, of about the value of twopence. The grinding, boiling, and distilling-houses are one and the same, and consist of four stakes driven in the ground, with a mat over them for a roof. The first manufacturer carries the process no further than expissating the juice, the result being an ugly brown mass, containing both the sugar and molasses. This unsightly product is carried to another description of manufacturer, fifteen, twenty, or even a hundred miles off, who re-dissolves it, and, with the assistance of alkalis to neutralize the acid which has been

\* Thirty years ago the cane of Otaheite was introduced into the West Indies, and from its vast superiority over the old varieties cultivated, both as to quantity and quality of produce, it soon superseded all others; indeed it may be said to have produced a revolution in the value of the land. This great improvement has been introduced into Java, into the Philippine Islands, and universally adopted in the Mauritius. Not so in that portion of the Indies under the special protection of the Honourable the East India Company, where, down to the present day, it is as little known as the tree of knowledge.—*Moseley's Treatise on Sugar*.

generated through the tedious and paltry process of his predecessor, gets, after all, no more than 25 per cent. of sugar, and this ill granulated, and deficient in saccharine matter. What chance can such barbarous child's-play as this have, even in the fairest and openest competition, with the ingenuity, the judicious economy, the enterprise, the skill, the capital, the machinery, and, what is not less potent than all these, the commercial probity of the European colonist?

The sugar-cane is known to be an indigenous product of India, and in fact it is, more or less, a product of agriculture in every considerable country of the vast regions comprehended under that name, from the eighth degree of south, to the thirtieth degree of north latitude, and from Persia to China, both inclusive. Of all this wide extent, there is no portion more suitable to its growth than our own possessions. This, indeed, is a point so long admitted, that it would be useless to insist upon it. To produce sugar in abundance, and to produce it of the best quality, all that is requisite is to remove the idle and pernicious restraints on the settlement of Europeans. The effect of this must be the immediate application of European capital, skill, and machinery, to the production of the most important of all tropical commodities; and one without a free culture and free commerce in which, half our expectations of extended commerce with the East must end in disappointment.

Why, it may be asked, is the industry of the British sojourner in India not employed in the production of sugar as it is in that of indigo? The reason is obvious enough: more skill and more capital are required in the one pursuit than in the other: the culture of the indigo plant is simple, and the returns rapid; that of the sugar-cane comparatively complex and tedious. An indigo crop is reaped in three months from the time of sowing; a crop of sugar-cane takes four times as long to come to maturity. A crop of sugar-cane is liable to depredation in an open, unfenced, and unprotected country; one of indigo to hardly any at all. Indigo works, capable of producing yearly £10,000 worth of the dye, may be constructed for about the sum of £700; sugar works, capable of yielding a produce of equal value, would require an investment of capital to the amount of £24,000. Who would invest such a capital, in a country where he can neither buy nor sell land, nor take security upon land; where the judge and the magistrate are hostile,

because labouring under the usual prejudice and delusion of their caste; and where the administration of justice is in such a state that an appeal to it is nearly hopeless?

Indian tobacco is a still more deplorable example of the slovenliness of Indian husbandry than even cotton or sugar. This commodity has been so long and so generally cultivated, and used throughout Hindostan, that, although unquestionably a native of America only, some speculators have imagined the probability of its being also indigenous to India. Notwithstanding this long culture and long use, however, the tobacco of India, owing to the sheer ignorance and negligence of the native grower, is the very worst in the world, and nearly unfit for any foreign market; altogether so, indeed, for the market of Europe.\* We have in vain looked for the article of Indian tobacco in the prices current of Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Hamburgh. Even in a London prices current we can discover it but occasionally. In fact, only a trifling quantity, scarcely worth naming, has now and then been imported for trial in the urgency and difficulty of finding remittances. The following is its condition:—The mere husbandry from the first is conducted in the most slovenly manner. In gathering, the footstalks are left appended to the leaves, with a due proportion of earth and sand. The bales are packed in a careless manner, and, consequently, the article is incapable of withstanding the effects of a long voyage. In short, the commodity reaches Europe in an unmarketable state, wholly unfit for competition with what has been grown, prepared, and brought to market by a more intelligent and skilful industry. The very lowest quality of American tobacco is worth in the London market 20 per cent. more than the best Indian tobacco. The average of all American tobaccoes is above 150 per cent. better. The very finest tobacco of the United States is by 650 per cent. more valuable than the finest Indian tobacco brought to the London market. The reader is not to imagine that soil or climate has any thing to do with this inferiority. - Tobacco is one of the most hardy and most universal of plants, having a geographical range of at least fifty degrees of latitude on each side

\* Trifling quantities of tobacco are sent to the Peguans and Malays, people less civilized than the Hindoos themselves. Such are the total exports in this great staple, by one hundred and thirty-four millions of people!

of the equator. Skill, industry, and capital alone are wanted to perfect it in India. Fine marketable tobacco is produced in the Island of Java, between the sixth and seventh degrees, of south latitude, through Chinese industry, that country supplying nearly the whole eastern archipelago. Still finer is produced in the Philippines, in the sixteenth and seventeenth, degrees of north latitude. Every portion of the Chinese empire yields good tobacco, and, notwithstanding the quantity of land employed in the production of food, exports fine tobacco cheap enough to supply the Chinese colonists of the neighbouring countries. In the western hemisphere, we find fine tobacco growing in Cuba, St. Domingo, and Porto Rico, from the eighteenth to the twenty-third degree of north latitude. In the Brazils, we have good tobaccoes in the corresponding southern latitudes. In Europe, tobacco prospers in France, in the northern provinces of Holland, and in the Ukraine. The soil and climate of India, instead of being ill-suited for the production of good tobacco, it may be easily shown is even better adapted for the growth of this commodity than the active and industrious regions which now supply the United Kingdom with her principal consumption. The heat of the climate, if not favourable to the production of quantity, is unquestionably so to that of quality. The finest tobaccoes in the world are produced in the warm climates of Cuba, St. Domingo, and Porto Rico. Even in the American markets these bring a higher price than any tobaccoes of native growth. On the other hand, in the markets of Europe generally, the tobacco of Holland is in price and estimation greatly below any American tobacco, and that of the Ukraine, probably the joint effect of slovenly culture and unsuitable climate, is the worst which is known in the markets of continental Europe. Now it is natural to believe that the culture of this plant is at least as skilfully and carefully conducted in France and Holland as in the United States. The inferiority of the product, therefore, would seem to show that the climate of Europe, although the plant grew in it vigorously, is, upon the whole, ill-suited to its production. In Holland, the culture of tobacco is at present not only free from all restraint and from all duty, but protected by an impost on the foreign article, and yet, notwithstanding this, American tobacco is better and cheaper, and the great consumption of the country is in the latter article.

With respect to the suitableness of India for the growth of tobacco, it deserves notice that the finest sorts already grown there, are produced in latitudes exactly corresponding with those of the countries which we have just quoted, as yielding the commodity in the greatest perfection. In one or two districts, indeed, even native industry has succeeded in producing some fine parcels. It is from these that the celebrated snuff of Masulipatam is manufactured; but the reader must not imagine that this is the product of native ingenuity. The natives were first instructed in the art of preparing it by the French, and those who are curious in tracing inventions, will find it to this day invariably packed in bottles of French manufacture.

In the year 1827, the quantity of unmanufactured tobacco imported into Great Britain was 33,459,897 lbs., and of manufactured, 117,566 lbs., making a total of 33,577,463 lbs., of which the quantity retained for home consumption was 18,695,779 lbs. Of the whole imports, the United States of America furnished 32,736,,585 lbs., and the territories of the East India Company 5,849 lbs., or in the proportion of one to 5,596! Of the quantity furnished by the East India Company, 983 lbs. only, worth £8 3s. 10d., consisted of unmanufactured tobacco. The manufactured tobacco amounted to 4,866 lbs., and this consisted of snuff and cigars; the first, originally at least, a French manufacture, as already stated, and the second, to this day a manufacture of certain Dutch colonists, resident in the British territories. The gross revenue derived by the United Kingdom from tobacco, in the same year, amounted to £2,835,584, of which the United States of America appear to have furnished £2,743,975, or about ninety-six parts in the hundred; and the territories of the East India Company, supposing the whole of the tobacco imported by them to have been consumed in the United Kingdom, just £2,336, or in the proportion of about one to 1174 of the American contribution. So much for the aid given by our Indian possessions towards the public revenue!

According to the American official statements of exports and imports for 1827, the United States furnished Great Britain and her colonies with 36,726 hogsheads of unmanufactured tobacco, equal to afford freight for 18,463 tons of shipping. According to the proportion already stated of the respective quantities of American and British tonnage employed in the

export trade of the United States with Great Britain, 12,702 tons of this would have consisted of American shipping, and but 5,761 of English. Were India to produce the commodity in the same perfection as America, there would here be room for the employment of 18,463 tons of shipping, instead of 5,761 tons, and this, along with the cotton already named, would make above 136,000 tons. The quantity of shipping employed in the conveyance of unmanufactured tobacco from the British possessions in India to Great Britain, in 1827, amounted only to 83 lbs. beyond three quarters of a ton ! We do not mean to assert that even under the most favourable auspices, India could, or ought to be made to supply the whole demand of the United Kingdom, either in cotton or in tobacco. But that, under a colonial system of any ordinary merit, she would supply a great deal which she does not now supply, appears to us self-evident. Such suggestions as these are not only of value to our Indian subjects, but we must also add, that when a nation, in friendship with us, places our exports under restraints, equally hurtful and impolitic to both parties, it may be useful to point out to her that we have in our hands, through the simple and natural expedient of fair trade and free settlement, the ample and just means of retaliation.

Of coffee, as the growth of British India, we have very little to say, because, in reality, the production of this article is too trifling to give room for details. Small quantities of coffee have been produced, for some years back, by European speculators in the southern parts of India, but it will scarcely be credited, and yet it is strictly true, that the coffee plant, introduced a century ago into every genuine colonial possession of European nations, whether in Asia or in America,\* should only have been introduced into Bengal in the year 1823, and this, too, although its native country be within the limits of the East India Company's monopoly, and although the Company's territory be nearer to, and has had all

\* " In 1718 the Dutch began to cultivate coffee in Surinam ; in 1721 the French began to cultivate it at Cayenne ; in 1727 at Martinico ; and in 1728 the English began to cultivate it in Jamaica."—A treatise concerning the properties and effects of coffee, by Benjamin Moseley, M. D. " In the year 1752, or seventy-seven years ago, the export of coffee from Jamaica was estimated at 60,000 lbs. weight, which is a great deal more than all British India at present exports of its own growth."—*Ibid*

along a far more extensive intercourse with, Arabia than any of the parties which have elsewhere cultivated the plant so early and so successfully. A few enterprising and intelligent Europeans, encouraged thereto by the promise of permission to hold lands on lease, (for this purpose only,) commenced the cultivation in the year which we have mentioned, and small quantities of coffee of excellent quality have been already produced. There is no article of colonial produce which illustrates in a more forcible manner the beneficial effects of European care and superintendence than coffee. In fact, the success with which it is grown and brought to market affords no mean test of the civilization of the nation or party producing it. Its geographical limits embrace at least thirty degrees on each side of the equator. It is a hardy plant, easily acclimated; nor is it remarkably fastidious, even in point of localities, preferring only mountainous tracts unfit for the growth of grain, the sugar cane, cotton, and other staples. It is only necessary to cast our eye over a common prices current to discover the comprehensive range which the successful culture of this plant embraces. First of all we have it in its parent country, Arabia, and then we have it in Java, Sumatra, Celebes, the Malayan peninsula, the Philippine Islands, the Island of Ceylon, and recently in continental India, nearly from Cape Comorin to the twenty-third degree of latitude. Again, we have it in almost the whole of the West Indian Islands, in Brazil, Guiana, Colombia, and Mexico. If we except its parent country, where it still continues to be grown in the greatest perfection, owing to localities or circumstances in cultivation with which Europeans are unacquainted, it will be found that its quality, everywhere else, rises in proportion to the quantity of skill, intelligence, and capital employed in its cultivation. Of this we shall give a few examples. The best coffee which comes into the English market, excepting Mocha, is Demerara, which, on an average, is, at present, worth 58s. per cwt.; then we have Jamaica worth 51s., Java and Havanah worth 40s., Brazil worth 38s., St. Domingo worth 37s., and Sumatra and Ceylon worth only 34s. Looking at this list, and advertizing to the character of the countries which produce them, we can have no hesitation in pronouncing that soil and climate, however favourable, confer little advantage, except in so far as they admit of a more favourable, and,

consequently, of a more careful and intelligent husbandry, and that, generally speaking, all depends upon the skill of the planter, and the address with which he brings his produce to the market. The produce of Demerara is superior to the produce of Jamaica, only because the greater extent of good land, and its superior fertility in that colony, admit of a more successful culture. The produce of Jamaica is no less than 27 per cent. better than those of the far superior islands of Cuba and Java, a difference which can only be accounted for by the superior skill of the Jamaica planter, over the Spanish planter, in Cuba, and over the Government monopolists in Java. The produce of Cuba, on the other hand, is five per cent. better than the produce of Brazil, which must be accounted for also by the superiority of the Spanish over the Brazilian cultivator, for the soil of Brazil is at least equal to that of Cuba, while its climate approaches nearer to that of the parent country of coffee. The coffee of St. Domingo, once the best in the West Indies, is now excelled by that of Jamaica by above 33 per cent.; but the intelligence of the English planter is engaged in producing the one, while the other is consigned to the rude and slovenly management of a semi-barbarous people. The lowest qualities of coffee in the European market are those of Sumatra and Ceylon, which are grown, with little or no European superintendence, by two of the most uncivilized races in Asia, the Singalese and Malays.

The total quantity of coffee imported into all Europe in the year 1826, was 85,200 tons, and the consumption was estimated at 73,000 tons. In 1827, the importation was 111,600 tons, and the consumption 95,600 tons. In 1828, the importation was 108,400 tons, and the consumption 96,000 tons,—the price in the latter instance having risen by 25 per cent. which shows that the supply, great as it appears to be, is still unequal to the demand. The average of the two last years' importations quoted, gives 110,000 tons, which, at 50s. per cwt. shows that a commerce in this single article is conducted by the European nations with the tropical regions of the world to the extent of £5,500,000 per annum. To what extent does the United Kingdom and her East Indian Colonies participate in, or contribute to this great and important branch of trade? In 1826, England imported 17,800 tons of coffee, while the single port of Hamburg imported 17,600 tons, and the king-

dom of the Netherlands 29,200 tons. In 1827, England imported 21,400 tons, while Hamburg imported 23,800 tons, and the Netherlands 36,300 tons. In 1828, England imported only 16,500 tons, whereas Hamburg imported 22,000 tons, and the United Netherlands 40,900 tons, or no less than 147 per cent. more than the great emporium of European commerce.

Of the 21,400 tons of coffee imported by Great Britain in 1827, there was imported from the territories of the East India Company only 1683 tons, the whole (within a trifle not worth naming) consisting of the coffee of Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and Mocha, brought for the most part circuitously and inconveniently to Great Britain through her Indian possessions. From these possessions little or no coffee is sent any where else than to England. Taking, therefore, the same valuation as in the former case, the territories of the East India Company contribute to a branch of trade amounting to £5,500,000 to the extent only of £84,150, or to little more than one-sixty-fifth part of the whole!

While the exclusion of European capital and industry in India has hindered the culture of coffee in that country, it is instructive to learn what the capital and industry of an inferior people has been able to accomplish in Brazil, a country, as we have already said, which, of all others, bears, in soil and climate, the nearest resemblance to our Eastern possessions. In the year 1820 the quantity of coffee produced in Brazil amounted only to 14,900,000 lbs. ; in 1822 it was 24,300,000 lbs. ; in 1824 36,700,000 lbs. ; in 1826 41,600,000 lbs. ; and in 1827 57,900,000 lbs. Here is an increase, in seven years, of 43,000,000 lbs. The culture of coffee has been prosecuted in the territories of the East India Company for a longer period than the one now stated ; but the produce, instead of having increased, as in this case, by 288 per cent. is so trifling, in amount, that the commodity is not known, even by name, in the market of Europe. This is a fair example of the effects of colonization, under very unsavourable auspices, and of the consequences of restraints and exclusions, under as favourable ones as can easily be imagined, for, in the first case, we have Portuguese colonists, with slaves for labourers, and in the last, English capitalists, and a population of freemen to cultivate the soil.

Of pepper we have but a few words to say. The only por-

tions of the Continental dominions of the East India Company, where pepper is grown, is the coast of Malabar; and from thence Europe was, at one period, supplied with the largest portion of its consumption. That part of India (to judge from etymological evidence) is the parent country of the plant, from whence, however, it has spread to other parts of India, being, at the same time, still confined to the Eastern world. The total produce of pepper for exportation has been estimated at 42,812,500 lbs., of which Malabar produces only 2,412,500 lbs., or little more than one-seventeenth part. In 1812 the produce of pepper in Malabar was 3,238,540 lbs. In 1826 it fell to 2,412,500 lbs. The cause of this decrease in the cultivation is but too obvious: a heavy export duty was at first levied upon the commodity, and then a land-tax still heavier, in the absurd and vexatious form of a tax on each plant. The discussion of the East India Company's servants, respecting the mode of levying duties on this article, are exceedingly curious.\* One officer proposed an export duty of twenty-seven per cent., without considering that the Act of Parliament of 1813 did not authorize the local government to impose new duties of customs, without certain inconvenient references to England. Another, more knowing, proposed to evade the law by substituting a land-tax equal to one-fourth of the gross produce, which, in fact, as in that thinly-peopled country, where lands fitted for the growth of the pepper vine exist in an abundance too great to be occupied, and where, consequently, no rent can exist, was virtually a kind of excise upon capital. The land-tax, for reasons evident enough, was preferred. In the meanwhile, the culture of pepper was carried on in Sumatra, Siam, and other barbarous countries free from land-tax, free from rent, and free, for the most part, from export duties; nay, what is more remarkable still, it was carried on under circumstances equally favourable in one of the Company's own Eastern possessions. It was not in nature that the inhabitants of Malabar should have been able to carry on the culture of pepper with such competition, and, consequently, the pepper gardens fell into decay, or were abandoned. It is now understood that the tax has been withdrawn, but in all probability after the irretrievable ruin of the pepper trade. This is a good instance of the indiscriminate, short-sighted, and inju-

\* Revenue Selections, vol 3, p. 549.

dicious rapacity of the Indian Government, and a striking example of that ignorance of general principles which has often characterized its fiscal arrangements. In the year 1824, the quantity of pepper imported by Great Britain was 8,801,634 lbs., and the exports 2,923,396 lbs. In the same year the United States of America imported 3,306,954 lbs., and exported 2,236,933 lbs. The exports of Great Britain, in proportion to her imports, therefore, were as thirty-four to a hundred, while those of America were in the proportion of sixty-eight to a hundred, or, in other words, exactly twice as great; but this is by no means all the difference in favour of the latter: for, independent of the exports from America direct, to which alone we have now alluded, she furnishes, from the places of growth, the greater part of the consumption of the Continent of Europe as well as that of Barbary, Egypt, Asiatic Turkey, and South America; in short, the principal part of the trade in this article is in her hands, while Great Britain, or at least the mother country, has no trade whatever of the same description.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the chief remedy for the evils which we have pointed out in the foregoing pages is European settlement, or, more explicitly, the introduction of European example—of European skill—of European enterprise, and of European capital. The following are samples of the arguments, if we may use such a name for them, which have been adduced by the advocates of monopoly against it. The Indians are a peculiar and a timid race, and if Europeans were permitted to hold lands, they would, in due course, dispossess the native inhabitants. Englishmen are a brutal race of men, excepting always the monopolists and their servants, and, if permitted to mix indiscriminately with the Indians, they would offer such violence to the peculiar usages of the native inhabitants, that the latter would be utterly disgusted—rebel against their masters, and expel these masters the country. If Europeans were to settle in India, they would soon colonize the country, and then Great Britain would lose her Indian possessions exactly in the same manner in which she lost her American colonies. If we civilize the Indians, or, in other words, if we govern them well, these Indians will become wise and enlightened—rebel against us, expel us the country, and establish a native government. By way of corollary to

these ominous and terrible objections, it is directly or indirectly insinuated that the East India Company is the fittest of all human instruments for governing the Indians,—that nature, as if it were, intended them for each other,—from all which it necessarily follows, that there is no governing India unless the administration monopolizes its commerce,\*—that the Indians are enamoured of monopolies of the necessities of life, or of staple articles of trade,—that they are generally fond of paying heavy and fluctuating taxes, instead of light and definite ones, such, for example, as paying yearly 50 or 55 per cent. of the gross produce of the land to the Company, instead of a fixed and moderate land-tax,—that they are especially fond of being excluded from all offices of honour, trust, or emolument, having an odd predilection for placing their lives, liberties, and properties, at the discretion of the Honourable Company,—and, in short, that all innovation being hateful to them, they abhor change, even when it is from absolute evil to positive good. There are few who will think a serious refutation

\* In the parliamentary investigation which preceded the renewal of the Charter, no point was more insisted upon than the danger and inexpediency of separating the commercial from the political authority. The power of the Company to carry on the administration, it was roundly asserted, would be weakened by such separation. This, in short, was to insist that an union which was scouted throughout civilized Europe, and which existed, even in Asia, only under the worst and most barbarous governments, which was not found in China, or in Japan, or in Persia, or in Arabia, and to which even Hindostan was a stranger, under all previous forms of government, was good and indispensable under the government of the East India Company. Adam Smith says, that, in all political questions affecting their own interests, *the very advice* of merchants should be viewed with distrust. He certainly makes no exception in favour of merchants exercising a monopoly, still less of merchants exercising the powers of government, and whose interests are ~~no~~ ~~only~~ opposed to those of the public, but to those of all other merchants. The proposition that a monopoly of trade in the ruling authority is useful and necessary towards carrying on the political concerns of a great empire, is indeed too monstrous for reply. The French ministry, since the restoration, when pressed to abolish the monopoly of tobacco, admitted that if any other means could be devised of raising an equal revenue they would be happy to be relieved from “the too onerous charge of superintending the culture and manufacture of tobacco.” Here we have the East India Company praying to be burthened with the whole details of the commerce of the East, and even insisting that it is unable to carry on the political business of a mighty empire without it!

of such absurdities necessary; but in case there should be any, we offer to them the following explanations, beginning with a short review of the conduct pursued by the rest of mankind in all ages, in situations and circumstances parallel to our own.

One would expect, from the assertions of the advocates of restrictions, that such relations as subsist between the people of India and ourselves had no parallel in the history of the world. There are, however, many cases exactly similar in every essential point, and we shall advert to a few of them. The Mahomedans of Persia and Tartary kept these same Hindoos in subjection for full seven centuries. They were rude, they were intolerant, they persecuted for conscience' sake. They were, at first at least, necessarily ignorant of the language, manners, and habits of the aboriginal inhabitants; and when they became acquainted with them, it was only to treat them with derision or contempt. They altered the whole laws of the kingdom; they imposed Mahomedan institutions, and a Mahomedan language. Yet, with all this, there were few insurrections against their authority; and in the above long period of seven centuries not one successful case of rebellion. One race of Mahomedans, and one dynasty succeeded to another race and another dynasty, in the dominion of India. The patient and docile Hindoos quietly looked on, and paid their homage and their taxes to each successive conqueror. In a word, they submitted to braver and more civilized races than themselves, which was in the natural order of things. The Mahomedans were not prohibited from occupying the soil: they, in fact, became possessed of extensive estates in land throughout the country; but the Hindoos were not, in consequence, dispossessed. The Moslems constitute, at present, through emigration or conversion, full one-seventh part of the whole population; that is, they amount to perhaps fifteen millions of settlers. Still the Hindoos held, after so many centuries of rude dominion, by far the larger portion of the land, down to the moment when we ourselves became possessed of the sovereignty of the country. This is rather a strong case. It may be rationally asked, will one of the most civilized and humane of the nations of Europe, in a civilized age, act a worse, or a weaker part than the semi-barbarians of Persia and Tartary, in a very barbarous one? Will any one be so irrational as to

argue, or any one credulous enough to believe, that the policy on which these semi-barbarians acted—not only with safety but with utility—nay, upon which their very existence depended, may not be pursued, at least with impunity, by the European administration of India, backed by the resources of a civilized, powerful, enterprising, brave, and ambitious nation? Are we, through clumsy misrepresentation, and a fictitious picture of national manners incompatible with history and with human nature, to be cheated out of our common sense into a belief that the very circumstances which enabled our predecessors to make and to maintain conquests, are to cause the destruction of ours? These predecessors acquired dominion, and they kept it for whole centuries, through mere fortuitous emigration and settlement, and without any external support. We, on the contrary, have the systematic support of a powerful and willing nation. Yet, in the very same spot, we are told that the dominion of one set of conquerors is to be overthrown by the exact same means by which that of another was created and maintained. We beg our easy, good-natured, but idle countrymen, in judging of this very plain matter, to bring to their aid a small portion of that common sense which they are so fond of having ascribed to them on ordinary occasions, and not suffer themselves to be deluded into a belief that what may be dangerous to a monopoly of patronage, is equally so to the interests of the state!

One of the most remarkable examples of dominion maintained by foreign conquerors for a succession of ages without revolt, rebellion, or expulsion of the conquerors, there being neither prohibition to the conquerors to own land, or colonize in any other manner whatsoever, is that exercised by the present race of Tartars over the vast empire of China, containing double the area, and near twice the population of our East Indian dominions. If the circumstances of this dominion be considered, it will be found a much more wonderful event than even the establishment of our own extraordinary empire. A mere tribe of shepherds, having nothing but their good swords to rely upon, effected the conquest of the greatest and most civilized empire in the East, in a far shorter time than was taken in the formation of our Eastern dominion, and they have kept peaceable possession for 168 years. They govern that empire apparently without any extraordinary difficulty, and

with as few insurrections as can well be expected in an over-peopled country, liable from that circumstance to dearths and famines, and consequently to the anarchy and disorder which arise out of them. They go a little farther than we do; maintaining the military power, they surrender the civil into the hands of the native inhabitants; we are not quite so generous; we seize the whole military and the whole civil power, to the entire exclusion of the conquered; we take the most effectual means to exclude capital from the country, as well as to withhold from the Hindoos the example of morals, industry, arts, and science; and we end by pronouncing such a form of administration the most acceptable, popular, and appropriate which human wisdom could devise for the government of eighty or ninety millions of people, fifteen thousand miles distant from the power that essentially rules them. What figure would the conquerors of China have made in maintaining their dominions, had they contented themselves with the expedient of sending an army of some forty thousand men, with a few civil functionaries from the wilds of Tartary, to the rigid exclusion of the settlement and colonization of the rest of their countrymen? The Chinese, united and intelligent far beyond the inhabitants of Hindostan, would not have endured the silly experiment for a moment; and fortunately for the Manchou Tartars, they had no East India Company to persuade them into such a blunder.

The illustration afforded by the history of Turkish and Russian conquest and dominion is, perhaps, more in point than any others, and we shall briefly refer to them. The history of Turkish conquest is shortly, but with sufficient accuracy, as follows:—A tribe of shepherds from Tartary wrests its Asiatic dominions from the remnant of the Roman Empire,—passes the Hellespont,—overwhelms the most civilized state of the fifteenth century, and keeps possession of the finest portions of Europe for three hundred and seventy-six years, the conquerors, even when fully settled and colonized, not exceeding in number one-fifth part of the conquered inhabitants; many of the latter being scarcely less warlike than themselves;—being for the most part opposed to them in religion, manners, and interests; and being, moreover, excited to, or abetted in, rebellion for at least a century back by a powerful and warlike neighbour. To what are we to ascribe this permanency in the

Turkish dominion, under auspices apparently so unpropitious ? No doubt in a great measure to the same causes which give stability to our own dominion in India, and which promise, under almost any probable circumstances, however blundering and unskilful our management, to give it a long duration, namely, the diversity of languages, manners, religions, and interests of the conquered ; their ignorance of, and indifference to, political freedom, and the facility consequent upon all this, of employing them as tools for securing each other's submission. About a dozen nations speaking as many languages form the aggregate of the Turkish population. Among twenty-four millions of people, the conquerors scarcely form, throughout, above one-fifth part ; yet this fraction has been sufficient, taking the average of Turkish conquests, to have maintained a dominion of four centuries' duration. It is needless to add, that the making and maintaining of the Turkish conquests has depended solely on the principle of settlement and colonization. Two millions of Turks, possessing as governors no good quality, save personal courage, have, when settled in Europe, proved adequate to a long maintenance of authority over eight millions of Christians, and others ; but surely nine hundred or a thousand Turks, the proportion of the English to their Indian subjects, never could have effected such a purpose. The extravagant and unprofitable experiment, which the skill of the English on the one side, and the superior docility of the Hindoos on the other, has rendered practicable in our case, would, in reference to the blundering barbarism of the Turks, and the superior energy and intelligence of their subjects, be too ridiculous to imagine.

The history of Russian conquests is still more to our purpose. The Russians proceed on principles diametrically opposite to those we have adopted in our Indian administration, and it is obvious to common sense, that they owe their success and their security to doing so. The nations subject to the Russian dominion amount to about seventeen millions of people spread over an area said to be equal to a ninth part of the habitable globe, and that part too, one abounding in extraordinary difficulties of communication. Russia, like Great Britain and Turkey, owes, no doubt, much of the facility with which she maintains her dominion, to the diversity of tribes, religions, languages, customs, and modes of civilization almost

infinite, which prevail among the people subject to her authority. Among these there are about sixty distinct nations, with as many languages ; and, as to forms of religion, we have the Christian and Mahomedan, with all their sects; we have Jews, Hindoos, worshippers of fire, and followers of the Grand Lama. The aggregate of energy, of the warlike spirit, and of the rude spirit of independence, is, however, far greater in the conquered subjects of Russia, than in the Indian population subject to Great Britain. If to this, again, we add the inferior resources of Russia, in comparison to England, or, what is the same thing, her inferior civilization, and we take also into account the greater distance of her resources, or, what is equivalent to this, her inferior means of speedy communication with her distant conquests, we shall be convinced, at once, that the task which Russia has to perform, in maintaining her dominion, is a far more difficult and gigantic one than ours in maintaining our Indian.

Is it by creating monopolies ; by excluding the conquered nations from all share in their own government ; by confiding the administration to a little band of the friends of monopoly, taken at haphazard from the conquerors : is it by prohibiting the colonization and settlement of Russian merchants, lest Russian merchants, by their violence, should excite rebellion, or by their coarseness and immorality pollute her Bashkires, her Buriats, and her Calmouks,—that Russia has proved so eminently successful in holding a most discordant mass of conquered people in easy subjection ? With respect to monopolies, there exists but two throughout the Russian dominions, originally conquered, or acquired by cession, those of ardent spirits and of salt.\* In every thing else industry and commerce are perfectly free, and no distinction is drawn between the conquerors and the conquered. With respect to exclusion from office there is none. In Russia, every office is open to every class of the inhabitants, nay, foreigners are admitted to the greater number. This is not a matter of virtue but of necessity on the part of the Russian Government. The task

\* The Russian salt monopoly is extremely mild ; it is, in fact, little more than a piece of imperial ostentation, and brings very little revenue to the state. The Government supplies the whole empire at the same price, and that price does not exceed 21d. per bushel.

of administration, in fact, is rather too difficult to be trifled with, and therefore talent and fitness have some preference over favour. Were the Tartars as docile as the Hindoos, and as good tax payers, we have no doubt the Russian Autocrat and his Ministers would soon contrive to make a civil appointment to Siberia or Kamschatka worth, like an English one to Hindostan, four or five thousand pounds sterling.\*

With respect to colonization, every one knows that it is the policy of Russia, not only not to discourage it, but to give it the most positive encouragement. The Russian Government having no preserve of patronage to hedge in,—no territorial resources to throw away, affects no unfounded jealousy of Russian subjects. On the contrary, it has recourse to colonization as the cheapest, safest, and most efficacious means of maintaining its authority in its distant possessions. This course it has systematically pursued for full three centuries, and with a safety, success, and advantage which are sufficiently known. Russians are found as colonists from Wologda and Woronesch to Kamschatka and to Chinese Tartary. But the liberality of Russia is far from being confined to native Russians, or to Russian subjects. The Russian Government may be said to invite all the world to settle in its dominions, and to have no more apprehension of strangers than of its own subjects. Among colonists of the latter description are to be found Servians, Albanians, Wallachians, Moldavians, Poles, Germans, French, and even English and Hindoos! The Germans alone amount to near half a million. Has the misconduct of these colonists driven the conquered inhabitants into rebellion?—have they polluted the simple manners of the natives; or have they proved idle and useless intruders where they have settled? Quite the contrary;—they have raised flourishing cities in the heart of Siberia; explored mines of the useful and precious metals in the same country; cleared, cultivated, and peopled the desert banks of the Wolga,

\* The following (in 1823) is the testimony of Malte-brun (no admirer either of the Russians or their Government) touching the conduct of Russia to her conquered subjects. After observing that all forms of worship are free, he proceeds thus,—“ *Le gouvernement Russe respecté, avec une politique éclairée, tous les droits acquis, tous les priviléges de provinces, de villes, de classes; les seuls, changemens que les peuples conquis éprouvent, sont, en général, favourables à la liberté personnelles, industrielle et religieuse.*”—*Precis de la Géographie Universelle.*—T. vi.

and, by the introduction of the silk-worm, the vine, and the olive, given a new character and a new aspect to the Crimea.\*

Such are the cheap, natural, and efficient means by which the Russian Government not only holds in subjugation wild, disorderly hordes of barbarians, often 3000 miles distant from its natural frontier, but by which it promotes the civilization of these hordes, cultivates and improves its territory, and extends and confirms its own authority. Instead of pursuing this obvious course, how would matters have stood with Russia had she followed the policy we have pursued in India? What figure would the Russians have made in maintaining their authority over such countries as Astrachan, Siberia, the Crimea, Georgia, or the Mahomedan provinces recently acquired from Persia, had the Czar delegated his power to a joint stock company of Russian merchants residing in St. Petersburg, even bolstering up their authority by a monopoly of the trade of China, and conferring upon them the exclusive right of vending tea, now a necessary of life in Russia, to the rest of his subjects?

Our own country affords remarkable examples of a peaceful submission to foreign conquest, and of the benefits derived from the amalgamation of conquerors with conquered. The Romans (the relative states of society in the world being considered) were, when they conquered Britain, substantially as distant from it as we are now from India; yet they subjugated a people more brave, more untractable, more untameable than the Hindoos—occupying a country less accessible to invasion and conquest; and, imposing upon them their language, laws, and institutions, held them in peaceful subjection for between three and four centuries. There was no prohibition to Roman subjects to settle, to colonize, or, in a word, to improve the natives by their capital, their industry, or their example. The stability of the Roman dominion appears to have been confirmed by a policy the very reverse of this. Hume, speaking of Agricola, the ablest and the wisest of the conquerors of

\* To these advantages, derived from the principles of colonization, may be added, the growing trade of Russia with China, which is now established at two other places on the frontier besides Kiachta. The extent of this branch of trade may be inferred from the quantity of tea, 25,200,000 lbs. yearly imported and consumed by the Russians. It appears from this statement that the commerce of Russia with China is only second in importance to that of Great Britain.

Britain, eulogizes him in the following strain, for doing that which a company of merchants would have us believe must ruin us:—"He introduced law and civility among the Britons, taught them to desire and raise all the conveniences of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render those chains which he had forged both easy and agreeable to them. The inhabitants having experienced how unequal their own force was to resist that of the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated in that mighty empire."—The Romans were succeeded by the Saxons, a rude and ferocious people, who were equally successful in maintaining their authority. The Saxons were succeeded by the Danes, and these by the Normans. The Ancient Britons *never* regained their independence. In fact, where shall we find in the page of history one example of a rude people permanently conquered by a brave and more civilized race than themselves, regaining their liberty and independence, and expelling their conquerors? Another race of foreign conquerors may supplant us in India; but we have nothing whatever to fear from its native inhabitants. The people of the East are, and have been in all ages, more passive and pusillanimous than the people of the West. The dark-coloured races are more passive than any of the fairer races of men. The Roman dominion over the more manly and freer nations of the West scarcely lasted six hundred years; over the timid and subservient nations of the East it lasted one thousand years longer:—such a prospect as this ought to satisfy our thirst for oriental dominion.

The first argument of the monopolists against permitting Englishmen to hold lands in India, and to settle in the country, is the imagined risk which would arise from it, of imposing upon the facility and simplicity of the natives, and hence, by fraud or violence, dispossessing them of their lands, reducing them to the condition of helots, or exterminating them as if they had been North American savages. Such an event has never occurred in the world, in any period of the history of mankind, unless in a very few insulated cases of the most barbarous conquerors, in the rudest ages, and yet, to serve an interested purpose, it is now imagined to be quite possible of Englishmen, and in the nineteenth century.

The only spots within our immense dominions, in which Englishmen are permitted to hold lands, are the towns of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore, and Malacca. There they hold lands generally on the same conditions, and under the same laws with the natives. These (and they are so many little Tadmors amidst a vast desert of despotic misrule and insecurity) are the only spots in which English capital can be invested in the soil; whereas, native capital has the range of some 600,000 square miles. It might be expected, then, that under these circumstances Europeans would be the holders of the greater portion of the landed property in such settlements: the very reverse is the case. The Indians are the holders of all the native buildings in Calcutta, of all the public markets, and of the majority of the houses built by or for Europeans. This is still more remarkably the case at Madras. At Bombay the greater portion of the landed property of the island is owned by the Persees. At Prince of Wales's Island, Malacca, and Singapore, the Chinese, and natives of Malabar, share at least equally with Europeans in the property of the soil.

The limited and partial experiments made elsewhere, show, in a manner the most indisputable, that wherever Europeans have established themselves, their presence has not only not alienated the affections of the native inhabitants, but been productive of unmixed good.\* In the single article of indigo, their skill has created a property to the yearly value of two millions sterling, an effectual addition to the real wealth and resources of the country, greater than it can rationally be proved, the East India Company has produced in two whole centuries. The introduction of the indigo culture into a district is notoriously the precursor of order, tranquillity, and satisfaction: wealth is diffused through it; and the public burdens, levied before with difficulty, and often only with the aid of a military force, are punctually

\* Bishop Heber, with his usual good sense and freedom from those local prejudices, so apt to bewilder the judgment of other Indian observers, insists upon the necessity of "encouraging instead of forbidding the purchase of lands by the English." On the desirableness of this last measure, as the most probable means of improving the country, and attaching the peasantry to our Government, says he, "I find, in Calcutta, little difference of opinion."—*Heber's Journal*, vol. ii, p. 306.

discharged. Even the advocates of the system of restriction are obliged to confess this beneficial result. We have not time for much quotation, and therefore we shall content ourselves with one strong case. Mr. St. George Tucker, a Director of the East India Company, formerly a Commissioner of Land Revenue in Bengal, and principal Secretary in the same department, tells us, in nearly as many words, when describing the necessary inequality of assessment to the land-tax, that in a particular estate the introduction of the cultivation of indigo alone will be sufficient "to double the value of the produce." A country, of which the produce of the soil is doubled by the introduction of a single article of cultivation and manufacture, cannot, it ought rationally to be supposed, be much injured in any other way by those who confer such a boon upon it.

In whatever part of India Europeans have resided longest, and in greatest numbers, there we are sure to find the best understanding subsisting between them and the Indians, and surely this is what common sense would teach us to expect. There is one remarkable example of this, exclusive of that of the great commercial towns, which may be worth quoting. The cultivation of indigo has been longest, most extensively and most successfully conducted in the district of Tirhoot, a portion of the province of Bahar. Here are to be found the most numerous and wealthy English planters, and the cordiality which subsists between them and the Indians is so remarkable as to be held up as a model, even by the servants of the East India Company themselves, though incapable of assigning the true cause for it.

The British settlers in the provinces, notwithstanding the unquestionable and substantial benefits which they have conferred upon the country, became during the parliamentary investigation, in 1813, the subject of indiscriminate invective on the part of the East India Company and its advocates. The "civil wars of the indigo planters," as they were called, were spoken of as things calculated to subvert an empire! It is remarkable that the whole of the disputes in question,—disputes enormously exaggerated, have all had their origin in the restrictions imposed by the East India Company itself, or in laws which they are incapable of executing. As we have already said, a British settler can neither buy land nor take

a mortgage upon it. As to the state of law and police, beyond the limited jurisdictions of the King's Courts, the following is no exaggerated picture of it. Justice is there administered by one hundred and fifty unprofessional Europeans,—in this number being included judges as well as magistrates, assistants as well as chiefs, judges of appellate as well as of primary jurisdictions. Limiting the jurisdiction of these persons to 500,000 square miles, and to 75,000,000 inhabitants, it follows that each of the above unprofessional Europeans must administer justice and maintain police over an area of 3,266 square miles, and over half a million of people, ignorant of the locality of five square miles of the area in question, not acquainted with fifty persons out of the 500,000, and having at best, as the natural and inevitable consequence of their being strangers, but a sorry acquaintance with the language, manners, or usages of any one man amongst so vast a multitude. It is no wonder that a King's Chief Justice in Bengal, in writing to a Minister of state upon this subject, should exclaim, "You may rely on it, and I hope the truth may not be learned in a more unpleasant manner, that the present system cannot go on."\*

The principal quarrels which the indigo planters have had with the natives, (and they have had them just as often with each other,) are disputes respecting boundaries, the most frequent of all others in India, and which are, indeed, inseparable from such a state of the law as prevails in the British provinces. "The commitments for breaches of the peace," says the fifth report of the House of Commons, "arising from boundary disputes, and other contests concerning landed property, are ascribed to the great though unavoidable arrear of untried cases, standing in some of the courts; since, by necessarily protracting for years the decision of suits, it frequently drives the suitors to despair, and induces them to run the risk of taking justice into their own hands, by seizing the object in dispute, rather than to await the tardy issue of a process which threatened to exceed the probable duration of their own lives." Matters have by no means improved since this passage was written. In 1815 it appears that the decision of a suit in the Supreme Court of Appeal required three years and three months; in the provincial courts of appeal, three years; and

\* Chief Justice East's Letter to the Earl of Liverpool.

in the provincial courts of first instance, seven and thirty months.\* Is it to be wondered at, that in a country where justice is nearly unattainable, the strong should be disposed to take advantage of the weak; or that when men are for the most part left to themselves, opposed to all the arts of craft and chicanery, they should occasionally commit acts of violence? There is no magic in the name of an indigo planter that he should be able to escape from the difficulties which the very state of the law itself imposes upon him. Reform, then, would be more becoming than invective in those who object to his conduct. Even the excellent and learned Bishop Heber, the author of the most interesting, popular, instructive, and, therefore, useful book ever written on India, joins in the unmeaning clamour raised by the friends of exclusion against the indigo planters; he states, in plain terms, that this enterprising class of English sojourners has done much towards disgusting the natives of India with the British character. This, to be sure, is but a casual expression in a private letter to a friend; and as no such opinion is contained in his journal, it is probable that it was not his deliberate conviction, formed on a more mature consideration of the subject. We have, in fact, carefully perused the journal and the letters, and cannot discover that the Bishop ever held any intercourse with an indigo planter, or with any native oppressed by an indigo planter. On the contrary, his Lordship almost invariably partook of the hospitality of, and received his information from, the high privileged servants of the East India Company, men opposed to the planters by habits, interests, and prejudices. His Lordship ought to have done, in this case, as he has done in almost every other, exercised his own better judgment, and not have given the sanction of his high authority to a *calumny* without a tittle of evidence. It is pleasing, indeed, to reflect that the Bishop has refuted himself in a passage in another letter, at least as authentic as the first, where he informs, as we have already stated, that the purchase of lands by the English, instead of being forbidden, ought to be encouraged, as the most probable means of improving the country, and attaching the peasantry to the Government.†

\* Judicial Selections, vol iv. p. 20.

† The following is the Bishop's own account of the state of law, and of the manners and character of those to whom the planter is exposed

Except when the laws are bad, or badly administered, and a country consequently reduced to a state of anarchy, the strong cannot dispossess the weak. If the laws be tolerably administered in India, Englishmen cannot possess themselves of the lands of the Hindoos, except by giving a valuable consideration for them. Unquestionably the Hindoos will not part with them, except for such consideration, for they are a parsimonious people, and in all affairs of property a careful and acute people. If an Englishman give a just equivalent for the real property of a Hindoo, it is not necessary to say that this is an accommodation and an advantage to the Hindoo, and not a matter of injustice or of oppression. The Hindoo proprietor may have more land than capital; he may be involved in pecuniary difficulty like the proprietors of other countries. By selling a portion of his estate, he may not only improve the remainder, but relieve himself from his difficulties. To deny him access, therefore, to the best market for his land, is not only no protection, but a positive injury, as well to himself as to the whole society to which he belongs.

What would the landed gentlemen of England say of a law which prohibited the wealthy capitalists of London, of Liverpool, of Glasgow, and of Bristol from becoming purchasers of the estates, which they were anxious to dispose of? Would they deem such a law a protection to their property; or rather would they not reprobate it in an act of deliberate spoliation? What would be thought of a law, made for the protection of the Irish, which prohibited English capital from being invested in the soil of Ireland, and made it a misdemeanour for an Englishman to be found in that country without a license from

without laws:—"The greatest evil of the land here, as elsewhere in India, is the system of the Adowlut Courts,—their elaborate and intricate machinery,—their intolerant and expensive delays, and the severity of their debtor and creditor laws." Vol. 2, page 145.—"They are decidedly, by nature, a mild, pleasing, and intelligent race; sober, parsimonious, and, where an object is held out to them, most industrious and persevering. But the magistrates and lawyers all agree, that in no country are lying and perjury so common, and so little regarded. Notwithstanding the apparent mildness of their manners, the criminal calendar is generally as full as in Ireland, with gang-robberies, setting fire to buildings, stacks, &c. &c.; and the number of children who are decoyed aside, and murdered for the sake of their ornaments, Lord Amherst assures me is dreadful."—Ibid, page 306.

a Secretary of State ? The same general principles which are applicable to Ireland, are equally applicable to India. There may be trifling differences in the modes of their application, but these will be found trivial and unimportant. Human nature is pretty much the same in all ages and climates. What is fundamentally true of it under a fair complexion, is equally so under a brown or a black one. It cannot be transmuted to serve the interested purposes of patronage or party. When we legislate for the Hindoos, in short, we legislate for men, and not for creatures of a clouded and egoistical imagination.

It would be in vain to attempt to trace all the evil consequences which arise out of this prohibition of Englishmen, to invest their property in the soil; but there is one of a very striking and comprehensive character to which we shall allude. The interest of money in the commercial towns, where English law exists, is, certainly in no case, above one half of what it is in the provinces, where the enactment and execution of the law is left to the East India Company. This, however, is not all; British subjects, beyond the limits of the towns in question, being prohibited from investing their capital in the soil, can receive no security upon lands, or tenements, and the lands and tenements of the protected towns are far too small in value to afford security for any considerable portion of the available capital of India. The effects of this are striking and monstrous. There is no lending of money on the security of real property, and the public funds necessarily become the only certain investment. While the profits of stock are much larger in India than in England, the local government in India is, notwithstanding, always enabled to raise money at an interest very little higher than the Government of the Crown in England, at a moment that private merchants, even of the highest credit, will have to pay half as much more, and often double as much. During the Burmese war the East India Company borrowed money at five per cent., while the most respectable merchants and agents of Calcutta were paying ten. The East India Company, in short, as here exhibited, has taken advantage of its own wrong. It commands the money market by a law of its own enacting, an obvious encouragement to wasteful and profligate expenditure. The capital, which would naturally go to improve the agriculture and commerce of the country, is thus unjustifiably drawn off to the public treasury.

The second allegation of the East India Company is, that if Englishmen were permitted to mix indiscriminately with the Indians, their offences against native usages would produce dangerous insurrections and rebellions, which would place our very dominion in jeopardy. This proposition, it should be recollected, is at direct variance with the last, and, therefore, if true, would prove too much. In the first case, the Hindoos are represented as so timid and obsequious, that they will submit to be turned out of their possessions without resistance; in the last, they are imagined to be so sensitive, so irascible, so pugnacious, so formidable, that they will brook no insult; they will rise in rebellion if the first settlers do not understand their languages and peculiar usages,—kick us, as it were, out of Hindostan for sheer ignorance. Both assertions imply a flagrant misunderstanding of the character of the Hindoos,—of their well known history for many centuries. The Hindoos are a prudent, a discreet, a money-making race;\* they will endure a great deal for money's sake; they will oppose violence by an appeal to law, if they have laws to appeal to; and if they have not, no European will be a match for them, with those weapons of fraud and chicanery, which the necessity and practice of ages have taught them to wield most dexterously. There will, in short, be more need to protect Europeans against them, than them against Europeans. This has, in fact, been found to be more or less the case, wherever the two races have come into collision or competition, without adequate laws for the protection of person and property, an occurrence but too frequent.

The danger to the stability of our empire from the indiscriminate resort of Europeans was one of the points most per-

\* The parsimonious character of the Hindoos, and the facility, notwithstanding the pretended allegations of the East India Company to the contrary, with which they accommodate themselves to the manners of strangers, are strongly exemplified in the little colonies which they have established in Ava, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, Java, and other islands of the Eastern Archipelago, but still more strikingly in those which they have formed in Asiatic Russia. Malte-brun, on the authority of a German traveller, gives the following account of the manners of the Hindoos at Astrachan: "Leur principal metier est l'usure. Les Tartares, livrés au petit commerce, sont toujours débiteurs des Indiens, au point de leur remettre en gage et en usufruit leurs propres femmes; de ce commerce descendent les Tartares Achrichanski."—*Precis de la Géographie Universelle*.—T. vi.

severingly laboured by the East India Company in the discussions which led to the renewal of their last Charter. Leading questions to this effect were constantly put to the cloud of witnesses which they brought to the bar of the House of Commons,—to the same witnesses who confidently predicted the total impossibility of extending free trade, and who insisted that the Indians could consume nothing which we produced, and produce little which we required. The answers were always prompt, and the assertion broad and unqualified, that there was the utmost danger to be apprehended from the resort of Englishmen. The kind of offences against native usages, which, it was alleged by the Company and its friends, might tend to endanger our Indian empire, it is not very easy to render a distinct account of, because the charges in their very nature were as vague as they were silly and unfounded. The following is hardly a parody:—Englishmen might perhaps shoot peacocks; they might not step aside to save the life of a pismire; they might plague monkeys, or treat cows with less reverence than horses; peradventure they might even slay kine to indulge a national propensity! When challenged to adduce examples of violations of native usages, such as could lead any rational being to imagine might be productive of insurrection or rebellion, of course not one case capable of bearing the slightest examination could be brought forward. One of the most intelligent witnesses adduced the case of an European suttler as one very much in point. He, the witness, had, in the exercise of his public duty, given the said suttler permission to live in the unoccupied house of an absent native: the native returned, and the suttler refused to quit the house at his requisition, and without the specific authority of the person from whom he derived his permission, which appeared reasonable enough on the part of the suttler. It turned out that the suttler in question, however heinous his offence, was not a British-born subject, but a Dane; one, in short, of the most orderly creatures of the European race! “Had he been an Englishman,” continued the witness in his evidence, “he would most probably have kicked out the owner for presuming to molest an Englishman in his castle, and it would have required a suit at law to eject him!” Here was evidence on which to legislate for an empire!

Another witness, an officer of high rank, and of some forty

years' experience, having been challenged to produce an example of the evil consequences of the settlement of Europeans in India, upon which he had expatiated in general terms, adduced the case of two Europeans who lost their lives for having offended the prejudices of certain Brahmins by shooting a monkey. The Brahmins pelted them with stones. To effect their escape, they made an attempt to swim the river Jumna on horseback, and in that attempt were drowned. Here it turned out that the offenders were not merchants or agriculturalists, but servants of the East India Company, a couple of cornets of dragoons. The reader may imagine, that a people who take violent umbrage at so venial a peccadillo as the shooting of a monkey, must be rather hard to deal with. The case, therefore, deserves this short explanation: the martyred monkey in question was not a wild monkey, as his untravelled fancy might suppose, but a pet monkey,—one of a herd of pet monkeys belonging to certain learned Brahmins at the celebrated seminary of Mattura, and daily fed from the hands of these clerical worthies. There is not an admirer of pet monkeys in England, lay or clerical, who would not have been equally indignant upon a like occasion.

The prejudices of the Hindoos, on the point just alluded to, have been mightily exaggerated. It is true they believe that the soul of a drunken grandsire may be embodied in a hog; of a wise one in that of an elephant; or of a pious one in that of a bull. They do give credence to such fooleries, and to various others; and they have, consequently, a kind of disinclination, but not a very violent repugnance, to be accessory to the death of such possible progenitors; but this is all, and they certainly do not, as some have supposed, actually worship any description of animals. It is notorious, that cattle and all other animals are slaughtered in thousands, in all the principal towns, long resorted to by strangers; the Hindoos not only not taking offence, but often, as owners of markets, as merchants, and as shopkeepers, deriving emolument from such proceeding.\*

\* "I had always heard, and fully believed till I came to India, that it was a grievous crime, in the opinion of the Brahmins, to eat the flesh, or shed the blood of any living creature whatever. I have now, myself, seen Brahmins, of the highest caste, cut off the heads of goats as a sa-

The belief of animal worship, on the part of the Hindoos, however, was, at one time at least, pretty current among Europeans. We remember hearing rather a curious example of this, in as far as regarded an alleged worship of peacocks. A British officer, at the head of a detachment, entered the Mahratta frontier, and, laudably resolving to respect the prejudices of the natives on this head, gave the following sample of his acquaintance with Hindoo mythology, in an order of the day :—"Peacocks being the gods of this country, no one to presume to shoot them on any account whatsoever." Now, the real history of this supposed peacock-worship was as follows:—There are few or no wild peacocks in the northern parts of India, but a great many domestic ones, the common property of the villages, roosting on the tops of the houses, nesting in the neighbouring groves, and feeding in the corn-fields belonging to the peasantry. In short, they are pretty much in the same state, but a good deal tamer, than the pheasants of a preserve in this country. The above good-natured officer was right in his conduct, but wrong in the motive. A French general, invading this country, and desirous of conciliating a very influential and respectable class of the inhabitants, might just as reasonably have issued such an order as this to his army:—"Pheasants and partridges being the gods of the country gentlemen of England, no one to shoot them on any pretence whatsoever."

The two cases above alluded to were the only examples of the evil consequences of settlement and colonization brought forward by the East India Company during a discussion of three years' continuance. In reference to them, Mr. Courtenay, then Secretary to the Board of Control, stated, in his place in Parliament, that the examples adduced amounted to such twaddle as could not be listened to with common patience. Even the late Lord Londonderry acknowledged that the idea

erifice to Doorga; and I know, from the testimony of Brahmins, as well as from other sources, that not only hecatombs of animals are often offered in this manner as a most meritorious act, (a Raja, about twenty-five years back, offered sixty thousand in one fortnight,) but that any person, Brahmins not excepted, eats readily of the flesh of whatever has been offered up to one of their divinities, while among almost all the other castes, mutton, pork, venison, fish, (any thing but beef and fowls,) are consumed as readily as in Europe."—*Heber's Journal* vol. ii. p. 379

of colonization in India, with all its attendant dangers, were a pure chimera.\*

Who, it may be asked, are most likely to offend the prejudices of the natives of India?—the flights of raw aspirants for place and power poured annually by the East India Company into India,—persons vested with the name or authority of Government; or merchants and traders, who have no connexion whatever with it, who are even publicly denounced by it as intruders, and whose success, safety, and comfort, must therefore depend upon prudence, forbearance, and conciliation? We pronounce, from long experience, that for one trader who violates the prejudices or usages of the natives, there will be found twenty civil and military *employés* who will do so; but by whatever party such offences are given, they are but trivial, and of very little moment. As the settlers and colonists increase, the number of such offences must diminish, because information on both sides will have improved. After the first few months—even in the most desperate cases, after the first few years—no European offends native prejudices, nor do the natives offend his: a very limited period, indeed, is sufficient to reconcile them to each other. If this be the case with the original settlers, where is to be the danger from their posterity, born and bred in the country?

It is beyond all doubt, that the present system of ruling India is distinctly chargeable with all the vices and inconveniences which are so liberally ascribed to settlement or colonization. The very essence of that system is to bring into perpetual collision with the Indians a perennial stream of youthful strangers at the most indiscreet and imprudent age,—these strangers, too, tax-gatherers or task-masters. Surely human ingenuity could not have devised a more effectual method of keeping a people governing and a people governed in a condition of more real alienation and estrangement from each other than this contrivance,—a contrivance which, although the creature of accident, and the offspring of the false and foolish theory of an ignorant age, is declared by its friends to be the very perfection of human wisdom; a plan, in short, devised, as if it were by nature herself, for rendering one hundred millions of the human race mutually useful to each other,

\* Speech in the House of Commons, March 22, 1813.

and happy and contented in all their relations. Under this lauded system the governed rarely see the governing party before the age of 16 or 18. If the governing party be good for any thing, they seldom see them beyond five and forty. By the rigid principles of this anti-social system the conquerors and the conquered ought not to see each other's infancy or childhood, or early youth, or old age, or even the whole maturity of each other's manhood. Englishmen, by this system, are never to be naturalized in India. They are never to appear to the Hindoos in the relation of fellow-countrymen. The parties, in short, are to have no mutual interests, no mutual sympathies, no opportunity of knowing or being known to each other.

Those portions of our dominions in India in which the greatest number of European settlers exist, are invariably found to be the most orderly, tranquil, wealthy, and prosperous. Those in which they are carefully excluded are not only the poorest, but the most subject to insurrection. The acts of the Government and of its servants have occasioned a good many tumults, a good many insurrections, and a good many military mutinies, but the advocates of restriction have never ventured to assert that a private merchant, or a private trader, has been implicated in any act of public disorder. The mutiny and massacre at Vellore were produced by the impertinent and ill-judged interference of the public officers of Government with the dress and pay of the troops. The tumult at Benares was produced by an attempt to impose an unpopular tax. The more serious insurrection in Rohilkund was produced by the same cause. The mutiny of the native troops at Barrackpore, and the massacre which followed it, were notoriously occasioned by the Government or its officers refusing to listen to some palpable<sup>3</sup> and afterwards acknowledged and redressed, grievances. No private individual, black or white, had any share in the transaction. The general rising of the province of Cuttack, which took the Calcutta authorities by surprise, was produced by the misconduct of a public officer. There was not a merchant or trader in this extensive but poor province at whose door the blame might be laid. But these are light and modern instances. The further we go back in the history of our connexion with India, the more flagrant are the examples which will occur to us. In proportion as we find the charac-

ter of merchant and sovereign united in the Indian government,—in proportion as the private adventurers are few in number, and as trade and government are, exclusively, or almost exclusively, in the hands of the Company, examples of oppression and rebellion become more numerous and more notorious. We shall quote one or two strong and incontestible cases. In the year 1781, the rash, arbitrary, and unjustifiable conduct of Warren Hastings, in offering an unprovoked insult to native prejudices and native feelings, threw the great and populous province of Benares into a state of general insurrection, which nothing could quell but a large army. This was the much-admired Governor of the East India Company, a man of undoubted talent, versed in the languages, manners, and institutions of the natives of India, and who was brought up in 1813, before the House of Commons, to give evidence, touching the impossibility of extending the commercial intercourse of Great Britain with India, the danger of violating native usages, the excellence of the existing order of things, and other matters equally true and edifying. Now, had the said Warren Hastings been a merchant, or an indigo planter, in all human probability he would not have touched a hair of the Rajah Cheit Singh's head; certainly he would not have wantonly arrested his person, and, by this flagrant insult to the prejudices of his subjects, brought on a formidable insurrection. To be guilty of such indiscretion, it was necessary to be duly clothed with authority!

The most noted examples, however, of the misconduct of the Company's servants, and of the evils arising out of the union of trade and power, are those which took place immediately after the victories which led to our eventual sovereignty in India. In Bengal, not only the Company, but the Company's servants, claimed an exemption of duties on trade for themselves, but insisted upon an infliction of duties upon all others.\* This necessarily threw a complete monopoly of the whole trade

\* His patience (the Nabob's) was nearly exhausted; he now, therefore, executed his resolution of abandoning all duties on the transit of goods, and laid the interior trade of his country perfectly open. The conduct of the Company's servants, upon this occasion, furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice, and even of shame. They had hitherto insisted, contrary to all right and all precedent, that the government of

of the country into their hands; the native inhabitants were deprived of their commerce, and the prince of his revenues. Anarchy, wars, and revolutions of nine years' continuance, were the consequence. The Court of Directors, it is true, acknowledged that the disorders in question were produced by the misconduct of their servants: they disapproved of that conduct, and forbade the private trade; but they had no sooner possessed themselves of the sovereignty of the country, than they seized upon salt, the principal branch of it, as an article of monopoly for their own benefit, and salt is at the present moment vended to the Indian consumer at about four times the price which it cost in the period of anarchy just alluded to!

In the discussions of 1813, the East India Company was not satisfied with a mere denunciation of the general principle of the free settlement of Englishmen in India; they declared that the bare circumstance of a partial opening of the trade must produce such an inundation of true-born Englishmen as would sap the foundation, and finally overthrow the whole fabric of our Indian empire. The experience of the last fourteen years has not verified this ominous prognostication. The whole number of European settlers in Bengal, unconnected with the public service, is about two thousand seven hundred, and this, let it be observed, includes foreigners as well as British-born subjects; in 1813 it was one thousand six hundred. At the other presidencies, the whole accession, certainly, has not amounted to two hundred persons. The inundation, therefore, which was immediately to sap the foundations, and finally to overthrow the vast fabric of our empire, has amounted, in fourteen years, only to about one thousand three hundred persons, all employed in the peaceful pursuits of industry, without an hour's leisure for politics or squabbling!

The advocates of restriction have further urged that free settlement would especially give rise to a dangerous influx of needy and profligate adventurers. How are needy and profligate adventurers to pay for a passage across half the globe? Do needy and profligate adventurers undertake a voyage of

the country should exempt their goods from duty. They now insisted that it should impose duties upon the goods of all other traders; and accused it as guilty of a breach of peace toward the English nation because it proposed to remit them."—*Mill's History of British India*, vol. ii.

similar expense to New South Wales, where room and climate are more suitable, and the distance not much greater? Needy and profligate adventurers go to the latter country with the assistance of the State; they could only find their way to India with similar assistance, which it is to be hoped the State will never grant. In fact, the existing restrictions are answerable for any disproportion of exceptionable persons which may now exist in the European population of India; and, after all, the number is very trifling.\* Men of character in general are unwilling to infringe the existing laws, bad as they are; men of indifferent character infringe them without scruple; and the worst class of Europeans in India are, in fact, runaways from the East India Company's own ships, notorious among British shipping for the badness of their crews,—men who, but for this channel, could never find their way to India at all, or who, if they did, would, in a free intercourse, constitute but a trifling fraction of the whole. In reality, from the very nature of things, the free adventurers to India would of necessity be composed of the most respectable emigrants that ever quitted one shore for another. The length of the voyage—the state of society in India—the character of the climate, would inevitably preclude the resort of such emigrants as were not possessed of what India stands so egregiously in need of—capital—talent—acquirement—integrity, and enterprise. For vice and profligacy the Indians have no demand; the market is already stocked!

The account now given is amply corroborated by an official statement made in the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament, on the presentation of certain petitions from the inhabitants of Calcutta.† It appeared from this, that in a period of eleven years, or from the opening of the trade in 1814, down to 1825, the total number of persons, in-

\* “The English part of the population (of all India) is perhaps as respectable a community as any in the universe.”—*Sir J. Malcolm.* The worthy author, after this compliment to his countrymen in India, having another purpose to serve, which it is not our present object to touch upon, proceeds to draw a subtle, but truly incomprehensible distinction between “a public” and “a community.”

† Speech of the Right Hon. Chas. W. Wynn in his place in Parliament, June 1828.

cluding men, women, and children, who had applied for leave to proceed to India, amounted only to 943, and that of these 159 were refused permission. If the whole applications, then, had been complied with, the overthrowers of our Indian empire --the invaders who were to subvert the dominion of the successors of the Mogul, with their standing army of 300,000 men,—would have amounted to about 85 per annum, (mischievous women and children included !) But as the wisdom and prudence of the Directors of the East India Company averted a portion of the danger, the invaders in question amounted only to 71 and a fraction. The Directors, it seems, had refused permission to two hundred persons, but, in forty-one cases, their judgment, in this important matter, was overruled by the Board of Control. Of the one hundred and fifty-nine persons who received no satisfaction, some were refused because they were servants, and might interfere with half-castes; some because they were intended as clerks to mercantile houses, and might displace the same half-castes; and some because they could not satisfy an East India Director, that they could live in India without his assistance. With respect to the first class of persons, it is enough to say, that half-castes are never employed as servants in India, and therefore the ground of objection is invalid. With respect to the second class, the meaning of the objection can only be this, that the East India Company's regulations having, contrary to all justice, incapacitated the children of Europeans, born of native mothers, from all elevated and honourable office, the Company coolly turns round upon its commercial rival, fixes a minimum for their wages as clerks, and saddles the free trader with the whole charge of maintaining them. With regard to the third class of persons objected to, one would suppose that a man who can afford to take the trouble of dancing attendance at the East India House for a license, for a month or two; who must canvass for sufficient interest to obtain it; who can give security to the Company to the extent of five hundred pounds; (for this is always taken,) who can afford to pay £30 sterling in fees and stamps for his license; and who can further afford to pay for a four or five months' passage to India,—may safely be left to his own exertions and his own resources, and is not likely to become a burthen to the East India Company or any one else. The truth is, that the love of a little pa-

tronage, and no apprehension either of settlement or colonization, was at the bottom of the refusals. For the first few years after the opening of the free trade, the number of licenses, in despite of the spirit and letter of the act of Parliament, was limited to a very few, in order to create or maintain that patronage, and it is only very lately, and chiefly since the parliamentary investigation in 1820, that they have been granted with comparatively less difficulty. This country is overflowing with capital, and, above all, with an unemployed population, and the Government of the country acknowledges the fact, legislates for it, and even advances large sums of money to encourage emigration. The East India Company is actuated by different motives, and steps forward to counteract the provisions of the Legislature, by exacting fines and illegal indentures from the emigrant to aggravate the natural difficulties and expenses of a passage over half the globe!

The next objection to the settlement of Englishmen in India is, that if this were to take place, the native inhabitants would be exterminated, and the colonists, in due course, declare their independence of the mother country, after the example of America. This most chimerical and absurd position hardly deserves an inquiry, or a serious answer; but in case there should be any one, unknown to us, silly enough to give it credence, we shall condescend to the trouble of refuting it. The first thing which must occur to every rational being is, that there is not one point of similitude in the pretended parallel between India and America. Colonization in India, in the strict meaning of the term, is impossible, without the extermination, or the very next thing to it, of above one hundred millions of human beings: we might as reasonably talk of colonizing Ireland, and exterminating the Irish!

Now, with respect to the extermination of the Indians, a very few words will suffice. No agricultural people have ever been exterminated, even by the most barbarous conquerors. Notwithstanding the badness of the Spanish Government of America, and the cruelties first inflicted upon the American Indians, modern inquirers are distinctly of opinion that the Peruvians and Mexicans are, at the present day, more numerous than they were under Atahualpa and Montezuma. Savages have been exterminated in a few cases through their own vices, —through the use of ardent spirits, idleness and its concomi-

tants, poverty and starvation. But the Hindoos are no savages; they are far more civilized than the Mexicans and Peruvians ever were; and as Englishmen of the nineteenth century, it is hoped, are not inferior to the Spaniards of the sixteenth in humanity, there is surely as little ground to expect their extermination.

Anglo-America and India stand as it were in complete contrast and opposition to each other in reference to the question of colonization. America, when colonized, was destitute of inhabitants, or very nearly so, and at the moment of emancipation the wages of day labour were perhaps not less than £70 a year. The British territories in India are peopled throughout to the extent of one hundred and twelve inhabitants to a square mile, and the wages of common labour are not above £3 per annum. America, when ripe for independence, was peopled by one race of free men, having the same institutions, manners, religion, language, and interests: in India there are at least thirty tribes or nations, speaking as many distinct languages. There are several forms of religion, and these again are broken down into sects and castes, the followers of which are full of antipathies towards each other. The Indian nations, in short, unknown to each other, destitute even of a common medium of communication, have no common interests, and, therefore, no common feeling of national independence.\* The notion of their conspiring or combining to rid themselves of the dominion of strangers is purely chimerical. Who, in fact, in this vast heterogeneous mass, are to be deemed the strangers? The Mahrattas are as much strangers to the people of Bengal, or to those of the Carnatic,

\* "This part of their character, but in a ruder and wilder form, and debased by much alloy of treachery and violence, is conspicuous in the smaller and less good looking inhabitants of Rajpootana and Malwa; while the mountains and woods, wherever they occur, show specimens of a race entirely different from all these, and in a state of society scarcely elevated above the savages of New Holland or New Zealand; and the inhabitants, I am assured, of the Deccan, and of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, are as different from those which I have seen, and from each other, as the French and Portuguese from the Greeks, German, or Poles. So idle is it to ascribe uniformity of character to the inhabitants of a country so extensive, and so bounded by so many almost impassable mountains and jungle. — *Black's Encyclop.* p. 350

as we are, and, without doubt, would be much more unwelcome ones. The Seiks are strangers to the Mahrattas, and either would submit to the other's barbarous rule far more unwillingly than to ours. Some fifteen millions of Mahomedans, differing from each other in nation, in sect, and often in language, are opposed to a Hindoo population of some eighty-five millions—nay, opposed among themselves to each other. Where are the materials for unanimity of purpose, for conspiracy, or for combination, in this most discordant mass of human beings?

The Americans, when ripe for independence, were a free, bold, manly, energetic, and highly-civilized people. The Indians know not what freedom is: they are, for the most part a timid, often an effeminate, and, as a nation, a feeble race of semi-barbarians. In every circumstance, in short, in which it can be possible to institute a comparison, the Indians and Anglo-Americans are the very antipodes of each other. The states of society in the two countries are, without exaggeration, more dissimilar than in China and Lapland. We and others conquered the Hindoos, because they were feeble and disunited. They are now, and they always have been, readily retained in subjection, for the same reason that they were easily conquered.

The colonization of India, as may be seen from this statement, is impracticable; but, although there may be no room for colonization, there is ample room for settlement, in a country of fertile soil, far more thinly peopled, after all, than any part of Europe, and a country, too, without capital, knowledge, morals, or enterprise. Mere day-labourers, of course, there is, generally speaking, no room for; but there is ample room for skilful mechanics, for agricultural, for commercial, and even for manufacturing capitalists. The free settlement of all these classes, under equal and suitable laws, will prove the only means of civilizing and humanizing the inhabitants of India. Our countrymen, living amongst them, will instruct them in arts, in science, and in morals; the wealth and resources of the country will be improved; the Hindoos will rise in the scale of civilization, for they have sufficiently evinced that they possess both the capacity and inclination to do so. We leave it to the abettors of restriction to point out what evils are likely to spring from such changes!

We have said that there is no room for colonization in India,

at least for European colonization. There are some exceptions to this rule: India, taking it as a whole, is not a densely, but a thinly peopled country; one hundred and twelve inhabitants to the square mile, is not such a population as a territory of such general fertility and extent ought and might maintain. The fact is, that many parts of India are over-peopled, others very thinly peopled, and some, indeed, almost destitute of inhabitants. Some fertile tracts in the alluvial plain of the Ganges contain four hundred, five hundred, and even six hundred inhabitants to the square mile, while the table lands are thinly peopled, and the mountains often destitute of inhabitants altogether. Many of the rich valleys of the great snowy range, for example, would, for room, temperature, and salubrity, admit of the settlement of European colonies. As the climate is remarkable for its salubrity, European colonization is here gradually admissible; we say gradually, because from distance and expense, there is, obviously, no other means of introducing it. Even in some of the warmer parts of India, colonization is not impracticable. The first settlers, in such situations, would naturally consist of capitalists, and the better order of mechanics, who, from their habits, would suffer little inconvenience from the climate. Their posterity, even if they descended to the rank of day labourers, would be acclimated, and, like the Spaniards of the pure blood, in the torrid plains of America, suffer no inconvenience from heat, but in this respect be on a perfect equality with the aboriginal inhabitants. Our own West India Islands, notwithstanding their heat, the general insalubrity of their climate, and the discouragement to colonization offered by slave labour, contain between sixty and seventy thousand colonists of the European race, the greater number of whom are genuine Creoles. In Barbadoes alone, according to Edwards, there were forty years ago above 16,000 whites. But even in India, notwithstanding the care taken to prevent it, we find among the lower orders of Europeans, a good many cases of genuine Creoles. These may be seen serving in the army, side by side, with their European comrades, and not distinguishable from them by any difference in strength, complexion, or courage. In fact, the races of men, like the species of many animals, are easily acclimated in regions in which they were not born to dwell, and by necessary change in habits and manners, are readily accommodated to

their new situations. The colonial history of every European nation, in fact, teaches us that the physical frame of the European race affords no obstacle to its permanent location in tropical countries.\*

The only thing like colonization which we see passing before our eyes in the East, is that of the Chinese, in the thinly peopled countries in the neighbourhood of their own. There are about one hundred thousand of them in the Dutch, Spanish, and British possessions ; and, perhaps, little fewer than a million in Siam, and other adjacent countries. This, however, is a very unfavourable experiment ; for, by the laws of China, the men cannot be accompanied by their families. Had not the emigration of women been forbidden by the laws of China, we should, by this time, probably, have seen the half-desert countries in question peopled from the swarming inhabitants of that empire. Unfavourable as are the circumstances under which this Chinese emigration takes place, it is instructive to remark, that to it we owe more than half the prosperity of all the countries in which it has occurred ; such is the efficacy of a little infusion of civilization into semi-barbarous communities. In the countries in question, the Chinese colonists generally carry on their whole foreign trade. They mine and smelt their metals, and they manufacture their whole sugar. In short, the most prominent branches of their industry would have no existence but for these useful auxiliaries.

With the fullest and freest liberty to settle, the European colonists in India will still constitute a prodigious minority. To imagine their revolt, therefore, is nothing less than ridiculous. Their security for centuries—as long as they continue a distinct race—as long as their faces remain white, and they speak the English language—must depend upon the mother country. Instead of endangering our dominion, therefore,

\* "The emigration from the mother country to this island (Barbadoes) was indeed so great during the commotions in England, that in 1650 it was computed there were 20,000 white men in Barbadoes, half of them able to bear arms, and furnishing even a regiment of horse to the number of 1000. The case seems to have been, that the Governor granted lands to all who applied, on receiving a gratuity for himself ; and the claim of the proprietor, whether disputed in the Island, or disregarded amidst the confusions at home, was at length tacitly relinquished. \* The colony, left to its own efforts, and enjoying an unlimited freedom of trade, flourished beyond example."—*Edwards's History of the West Indies*.

they will become its natural, and, through their knowledge and influence, its best, its cheapest, and its firmest supports. The very charge of danger alleged against their free settlement may, with infinite truth and justice, be urged against the system of restricting it. The Hindoos, instead of being a people difficult of management, are, in reality, of all the conquered people that ever existed, the most easy. Had they been otherwise, the barbarians of Persia and Tartary could not have held them in easy subjection for seven centuries; nor could the commercial and exclusive government of the East India Company have lasted for a single day. The administration of the East India Company is, in itself, a proof with how little government—with how imperfect a government, the Hindoos may be kept in subjection. The administration of India, as it is now constituted, disclaims all support derived from the influence or public opinion of Englishmen. It creates in its own hands enormous and pernicious monopolies; it refuses to grant, or is incapable of bestowing, an adequate administration of justice; it denies to the people all share in their own government; it places all power in the hands of a small party, or faction, of its own countrymen; it rules the country by an army, chiefly levied from a disfranchised and insulted population; and, finally, the spirit and tendency of its constitution is, to leave to the precarious guardianship of about thirty thousand Europeans, the sovereignty or dominion over an empire of one hundred millions of people. This is a real trial of the docility of the Hindoos; such a trial of men's temper and forbearance as was never made before in any age or climate; a scheme, the object of which must appear, to any rational and impartial observer, as little better than an experiment to ascertain the extent of the danger and jeopardy to which a people, in the wantonness of selfishness and error, may hazard a vast and costly acquisition.

In the teeth of all history, and of all experience, the Hindoos, the most docile of mankind, and for a people so uncivilized, surprisingly addicted to commerce, have been represented by the advocates of restriction as a mass of inflammable materials, capable of being ignited by simple commercial contact with the most commercial nation in the universe. Metaphor has been resorted to to colour the alleged precariousness of our tenure of Indian dominion from such an intercourse.

Sometimes a sword is held dangling over our heads; sometimes we are sitting on a barrel of gunpowder, an English merchant the incendiary to light it. But of all others, the most favourite figure of speech upon such occasions consists in representing all Hindostan as suspended by a pack-thread, which "the touch of chance," or the indiscretion of a free trader, might break, sending our dominion, of course, at once to perdition. One strong and indisputable fact will settle this question at once in the mind of every man of sense. We hold our Indian empire by the power of the sword. Saving the honour, firmness, probity, and intelligence of the national character, our civil institutions are valueless, and our administration of justice avowedly imperfect and insufficient. They, in fact, afford very little support to the army. That army is the smallest in the world in proportion to the population of the country, and it is inconceivably small if we consider that it is not a national army, maintaining subordination to national laws, but that it is the instrument of maintaining authority over a vast and distant conquest. The whole Indian army, regulars and militia, does not, in round numbers, exceed 300,000 men, and this, let it be recollected, is a perpetual war establishment. It is sufficient to maintain internal tranquillity; it is sufficient to protect us from foreign invasion; nay, it is sufficient to enable us to commit aggressions upon our neighbours, and to make external conquests.\* Including the native states, which receive subsidiary forces from us, this army of 300,000 men holds in subjection 115,000,000 of people. Its proportion to the population, then, is as one to about 383; but then again, above ninety parts in a hundred of this force is drawn from the conquered inhabitants. The portion of the Indian army, in short, composed of the conquerors, that is to say, the essential and effective power which maintains our Indian dominion, stands to the conquered population only in the proportion of one to 4,600. Let us compare the condition of India in this respect with that of other countries. The military force of Russia bears the largest proportion to her population of any nation

\* While we had an army exceeding 30,000 men before the fortress of Bhurtpoor, we had another at the distance of between two and three thousand miles from it, within two or three forced marches of the Burman capital. In a contest of two years' continuance, the army was not augmented by a single battalion.

which is known to us; that force on its peace establishment amounts to 800,000 men, and the population is largely estimated at 60,000,000. The army to the people, then, is as one is to 75. The army of France, on its peace establishment, including colonies, is in the proportion of one to 140 of the population. The British army, excluding that portion of it serving in India, is in proportion to the population of the United Kingdom, African and American colonies included, as one is to 274. The population of India, then, instead of being difficult, is more easy to retain in subjection than that of any other country existing, and, probably, than any country that has ever existed in the records of history.

The facility of maintaining our dominion over India, in truth, is a thing unquestionable. The docility of the great body of the people, arising out of their singular institutions, and the disunion, incoherence, and incongruity of the masses of which the conquered inhabitants are composed, are, no doubt, the chief causes of this facility; but there is also another, the great strength of our natural frontier. If we cast our eyes over that frontier, we shall find it, not only encompassed in every direction by the sea, or by mountains, forests, and rivers, but protected from foreign aggression by the still stronger barrier of universal weakness and barbarism on the part of our native neighbours,—a weakness and a barbarism, indeed, so great, that their excess alone, by tempting aggression on our side, becomes, in reality, our only source of danger.

As connected with this subject, we may mention, among the dangers conjured up to alarm us for the stability of our Indian dominion, the apprehended increase of the mixed race. A very few words will suffice for the refutation of this allegation. The greater number of the half-castes, or, as they have been recently called, Eurasians, are to be found in the Bengal provinces. Now, the number of grown males of this description here is just 215, and even among these there is included several of the most respectable of the class called Portuguese native Christians. The genuine half-castes throughout India, men, women, and children, we are convinced will be ~~over~~ <sup>not</sup> even at one thousand. This is the formidable body that is to wrest the dominion of a hundred millions of people from us!

So much for the genuine half-castes, or immediate descendants of an European parent with a native one. In

Calcutta, the whole descendants of Europeans of every nation, including those in the nearest, as well as in the remotest degrees, do not exceed five thousand persons. For all British India, they would certainly be overrated at three times this number. The natives converted to Christianity are numerous in the Southern parts of the peninsula, but are docile, even beyond the Hindoos themselves.

The restrictions of the East India Company have given rise, in a great measure, to the class of Eurasians. Among the British in India, there is a most extraordinary inequality among the sexes. The women are certainly not in the proportion of one to twenty of the opposite sex, and hence the men form connexions with the females of the country. Yet the number of the half-castes, small as it is, is either stationary or decreasing: the females generally intermarry with Europeans, and the offspring of this connexion is no longer reckoned in the class. The men, especially those of the lower orders, intermarry, or form connexion with native women, and the offspring is frequently lost in the native Christian population. The number of half-castes has also decreased of late years, owing to the more frequent resort of European females to India than heretofore. There is a natural repugnance in the races of different colours to intermix; or at least there is a decided repugnance on the fairer side. This is a principle, whatever may be the consequences, which, in all likelihood, must long preserve the different races inhabiting India in a great measure distinct. The prejudice of caste, with difference of language and lineage, will tend to a similar effect.

It is singular, indeed, to remark how completely such distinctions are kept up. The Persees, or worshippers of fire, fair and handsome amidst the squat and sooty population of Bombay and Surat, are as unmixed as on the day they came from Persia. The Afghan and Mogul Mahomedans are unmixed; the higher ranks of Hindoos (justly believed by antiquarians to be colonists also) are unmixed. The different nations of Hindoos never intermarry, and are perfectly distinct; it is only among the very lowest classes that there is much intermixture: all this, no doubt, throws a difficulty in the way of establishing a good administration;—it will prove a complete obstacle, for ages, to the establishment of any thing like a national government; but in proportion as it does

so, it is a security for the domination of the most intelligent, civilized, and, therefore, powerful class.

However little danger, present or future, we have to apprehend from the Eurasians, it is our duty to treat them with fairness and justice. At present they are rigidly excluded from all offices of *trust*, civil or military. From civil offices, indeed, their exclusion is complete, and their highest promotion in the military service is to the dignity of a sergeant or drum-major! Their exclusion from trust in the country of their birth, is unjust, ungenerous, and impolitic. They cannot, indeed, overthrow our dominion, however we may maltreat them, but the presence of a mass of discontented persons, as they must necessarily be, cannot but contribute, more or less, to its insecurity.

The disabilities under which the descendants of Europeans, by Indian mothers, labour, have all been created by the acts of the East India Company, within the last five and forty years, and have had their origin, like the restraints on British subjects in general, and the exclusion of the native inhabitants of India from places of honour or trust, in the principle of preserving the monopoly of patronage entire. They are, in fact, in the eye of the law, considered as natives, without enjoying all the privileges of natives. Everywhere beyond the limits of the principal towns, instead of being tried by British laws, they are tried by the Mahomedan, as modified by the Honourable Company. The liberal and enlightened conduct of His Majesty's Government, upon a recent occasion, is most strikingly, and favourably contrasted with the policy of the East India Company. By an Order in Council,\* the disabilities to which his Majesty's subjects, African, or of African descent, were liable, in the island of Trinidad, (a colony under the exclusive direction of the Crown,) are for ever repealed and annulled, and such persons are placed on a fair equality with their fellow-subjects. While the Crown thus performs an act of justice to the descendants of Spanish and African strangers, in a country of recent acquisition, the East India Company disfranchises the native inhabitants of India, and the immediate posterity of British subjects, in territories of which we have been more than twice as long in possession.

\* Order in Council, March 18th, 1829.

The natives converted to Christianity are still more harshly treated than the immediate descendants of Europeans. Under a Christian Government, they are seldom or ever employed in a public capacity, in any part of India, and under the Madras Government, are expressly excluded "by law" from such humble employments as other natives are eligible to hold!

From the confidence with which the arguments against European settlement, as respects India, have been urged, one might be almost tempted to believe that all experience was on the side of the advocates of restriction; and that the East India Company was deterred, by some awful precedent, from following the example of other people. Colonization has, however, been pursued, even in India, not only with safety, but with advantage, and that an advantage, too, invariably proportioned to the extent to which it has been carried. The colonists, in such cases, have not only produced no danger to the mother country, but, in every emergency, proved its best support. The name of Portugal, from the feebleness of that power in Europe, would hardly have been known in India in the present day, had she not acted, from the very first, on the principle of colonization and settlement. The consequence of her having done so, however, is, that the Portuguese name and language, and even Portuguese influence, are at present more generally and widely diffused throughout the East, than those of any other European nation. The free settlement of Europeans has been acted upon in the Philippine Islands for about four centuries, among a far less hospitable race than the Hindoos. It is not enough to say, in this case, that the practice has been safe only; the Spanish dominion could neither have been established nor maintained without it; the European settlers not only preserve the country from insurrection, but protect it from foreign aggression. It is their union and amalgamation with the natives of the country that has saved the dominion of the Philippines to Spain, even in her present state of colonial weakness.

In the larger portion of the great island of Java, European settlement has been tolerated for about two centuries, and Dutch colonists hold great and extensive landed possessions. This is just the part of the island where there has never been any insurrection. On the other hand, insurrections and formidable rebellions have been frequent in those portions of

the country where European colonization has been forbidden by law: nay, more, it is matter of notoriety, that the arbitrary expulsion of European settlers, holding leases of land, from which the native proprietors were deriving signal advantage in that interdicted portion, was one great cause of the present ruinous war in the island.

The same principle has been acted on in Ceylon, with its Hindoo, its Mahomedan, and its Cingalese population. When we received over the government from the Dutch, eight out of the twelve members of the council of government were colonial landholders, men bred and born in the country. No sooner did the administration fall into the hands of the East India Company, than the danger of colonization was again conjured up, and the usual prohibition duly enacted. His Majesty's Government, in humble imitation, continued it for a short period, but, seemingly ashamed of such a piece of folly, took off this prohibition in 1810, and still more completely in 1812.\* Some years after this a formidable insurrection took place in the Candian provinces, where there were no European colonists; if there had, most probably there would have been no insurrection, or, at all events, that insurrection would not have come upon the Government as it did, surprised and unprepared.

The fourth assertion of the abettors of restriction is,—that if we civilize the Hindoos, they will become enlightened, expel us the country, and establish a native government. This apprehension is utterly Turkish, but offensive as it is to good taste and right feeling, we must reply to it. No doubt if the Hindoos are to be arrested in their progress towards civilization, and kept for ever in their present state of superstition, feebleness, and debasement, the existing form of government will answer the purpose well enough. But it is our duty to

\* Proclamations of his Majesty's Government of Ceylon, dated Dec. 4th, 1810, and July 21st, 1812. The liberal, safe, and manly policy which dictated the measure described in the text, originated with Sir Alexander Johnstone, at that time his Majesty's Chief Judge of Ceylon, and First Member of Council. The Governor, and other members of Council, concurred, and Sir A. Johnstone returned to England, with full powers from his colleagues, to recommend the measure to his Majesty's Ministers. Our readers will recollect, that it is to the same gentleman that India is indebted for the first introduction of jury trial, a measure which has been found at once popular and efficient in the Island of Ceylon.

improve them, let the consequences be what they may. We are of opinion that these consequences will be auspicious, and tend not only to increase the mass of human happiness, but to strengthen and confirm our own dominion. It never occurred to us to attempt the improvement of the Hindoos, until 1813, although we had exercised dominion over them for more than half a century. What we then did was but small, and it did not originate with the rulers of the country, but in the suggestions of private individuals. Out of a revenue of sixteen millions sterling, the East India Company set aside ten thousand pounds a year, as the statute, facetiously we suppose, expresses it,—“for the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences.”\* Our Indian subjects at the time were reckoned fifty millions in number. The sum allotted, then, by the bounty of the state, for the encouragement of literature, ancient and modern, the encouragement of men of learning, and the promotion of science, out of a revenue of sixteen millions, was at the moderate rate of the tithe of a farthing per head! An equal sum with that which is here dedicated to the arts and sciences, among 50,000,000 of people, at the time of the enactment, and now among some 90,000,000, is, in various cases, given to an agent of the salt or opium monopoly, without the least parade whatsoever,—without any special act of Parliament.

It was not until eight years thereafter, however, that a single step was taken to appropriate even this paltry sum to its destination. The local government appears to have been shamed into doing something about the year 1821, in consequence of the extraordinary progress made by the Christian missionaries, and other pious and benevolent individuals. A few years earlier, the Government, not only did not encourage useful education, but even made efforts to put it down. The Serampore missionaries, whose labours have been since acknowledged to have proved so useful and so safe, were obliged, in order to escape banishment, to fly for protection to a foreign settlement, where they still continue to flourish. The British Government even went the length of demanding the surrender

\* 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, § 43.

of their persons, but the foreign Governor had the sense, humanity, and firmness to decline compliance.

The Indian Government, while it seemed to have proscribed European education, had, from an early period, given a certain encouragement to Asiatic literature. There has, for example, been long a Mahomedan and a Hindoo college at Calcutta, in which the Arabic and Sanscrit languages are taught, together with what is most absurdly termed—philosophy. The laws of the Mahomedans, the most intolerant bigots of all Asia, are administered in our courts of justice. Persian, the language of the bigots in question, understood neither by the people nor by their rulers—equally foreign to both parties—is preferred to English, as the language of the courts of law, of the public accounts, and of diplomacy. The Mahomedans, like all other conquerors of ancient or modern times, imposed their own laws, and their own language on the conquered people. To establish our power, we pursue the very opposite course. One might almost suppose that the real intention of such patronage to dead or foreign barbarous dialects, to the exclusion of our own language, was to keep all parties, not only in utter ignorance of each other, but in ignorance of every thing which an uncivilized might learn from a civilized people—of all that might tend to improve the character or happiness of our subjects. By such a course of conduct, we make a mystery of Government,—we convert it into a craft. Shall we not, in this particular, appear to impartial observers, as behaving more like the wily priesthood of some ugly superstition, which wraps its dogmas in a recondite language, the better to secure its own power and pretensions, than the enlightened conquerors of a great country ?\*

\* “The task of enlightening the studious youth of such a nation would seem to be a tolerably straight-forward one. But though, for the college in<sup>3</sup> Calcutta, (not Bishop’s College remember, but the Vidalaya, or Hindoo College,) an expensive set of instruments has been sent out, and it seems intended that the natural sciences should be studied there, the managers of the present institution take care that their boys should have as little time as possible for such pursuits, by requiring from them all, without exception, a laborious study of Sanscrit, and all the useless, and worse than useless literature of their ancestors. In Benares, however, I found, in the institution supported by Government, a professor lecturing on astronomy after the system of Ptolemy and Albunazar, while one of the most forward boys was at the pains of casting my horoscope, and the majority of the school were toiling at Sanscrit

There are some who contend that the culture and improvement of the native languages, and not the instruction of the Indians in the language of the conquerors, is the proper channel through which they are to be civilized. If the Indians and their invaders were, in point of improvement, on any terms of equality,—if they belonged even to the same race of the human species,—if the Indian languages were one instead of many, this opinion might be entitled to attention. When there is any approximation in the condition of the conquering and the conquered parties, and where there exists no repugnance in the genius of their languages, the usual and natural result is the formation of a third language through the amalgamation of the dialects of both parties. This cannot easily happen in the case of the English language, and the dialects of India, because their characters are as remote from each other, as are the manners of those who speak them, without producing a barbarous jargon. But if we were in reality to discard our own language as the paramount one, to which of the thirty dialects spoken in India should we give the preference,—which ought we to adopt as the national speech? Surely the language of a civilized people is to be preferred to any of these barbarous tongues; a language which has already the sanction of authority, of example, and of fashion; a language which is the road to preferment and emolument.\* In our situation to reject the English lan-

grammar. And yet the day before, in the same holy city, I had visited another college, founded lately by a wealthy Hindoo banker, and intrusted by him to the management of the Church Missionary Society, in which, besides a grammatical knowledge of the Hindostanee language, as well as Persian and Arabic, the senior boys could pass a good examination in English grammar, in Hume's History of England, Joyce's Scientific Dialogues, the use of the globes, and the principal facts and moral precepts of the Gospel, most of them writing beautifully in the Persian, and very tolerably in the English character, and excelling most boys I have met with in the accuracy and readiness of their arithmetic.”—*Bishop Heber's Journal*, vol. ii, page 386.

\* Among the lower orders the same feeling shows itself more beneficially, in a growing neglect of caste, in not merely a willingness, but an anxiety to send their children to our schools, and a desire to learn and speak English, which, if properly encouraged, might, I verily believe, in fifty years' time, make our language what the *Oordoo*, or court and camp language of the country (the Hindostanee) is at present.—*Heber's Journal*, vol. ii, page 306.

guage, and to adopt, instead of it, one of the barbarous and uncultivated dialects of Hindostan, seems to us to be little better than wilfully preferring a defective machine to a perfect one, and coolly insisting in doing so, that the desired end would be accomplished more speedily and effectually with the first than with the last. In a word, we do not hesitate to say, that the endeavour to civilize the Indians, through the medium of their own imperfect and defective languages, seems an attempt about as wise as would be a scheme to maintain our dominion over them by relinquishing the use of fire arms and the bayonet, and, like some of the rudest of themselves, having recourse to clubs, slings, bows, and arrows.\*

No assertion is more frequent with the advocates of restriction, than that the Hindoos are a people unchangeable in their manners and opinions, and having a strong repugnance to all that is foreign,—to every thing like change, necessarily including every thing like improvement. The late Sir Thos. Munro, a most distinguished public officer, expressed this opinion in an unqualified manner, in his evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, in 1813. Nothing can be more natural than that such notions should be entertained by a few solitary Europeans, living amongst millions of Hindoos, or of any other people whatever. All adyance in civilization is slow, and nearly imperceptible, and no wonder that an isolated observer, however great his natural acuteness, seeing the Hindoos subjected to no material cause of change, should be ready to pronounce their manners and character immutable. A few scattered Englishmen, living in Russia, in the commencement of the reign of Peter the Great, would have pronounced the Muscovites as unchangeable as the Hindoos are now pronounced to be, and, if they did not reason from analogy, but took it into their heads that Muscovites differed morally, if not

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\* The Chinese appear to be the only people upon whom their conquerors have not imposed their language, or whose language has not been altered by admixture with that of their invaders. The reason is obvious enough. The conquered party in this case was far more civilized than the conquering; they were inferior to them only in military prowess. Each side has here preserved its own language, while the more civilized has imposed its laws, religion, and in some respect its manners, upon the less civilized. Even the language of the subjugated party has become the general language of business.

physically, from all the rest of mankind, they would have been utterly incapable of forming any rational conception of the vast progress which the Russians have made within the last century. Such observers would have pronounced, without hesitation, that a Russian would for ever continue to tremble at the sight of a Swede, that Russians of rank would, to the latest time, prefer quass and votka to burgundy and champagne; cabbage and grease to French cookery; that a Russian nobleman would as soon have parted with his beard as a Persian; and that his head, to the latest posterity, must continue as "populous" as Gibbon represents that of the Emperor Julian. Sir Thomas Munro's observations applied to some thirteen millions and a half of Indians,\* among whom there were, exclusive of civil and military servants, certainly not a hundred free settlers. As long as we take the utmost pains to exclude all causes of change and improvement, no doubt there will be neither change nor improvement.† Admit these causes, and the Hindoos will be found as improveable as other races. The changes, and even improvements which the Mahomedans effected, are alone sufficient proof that the Hindoos are neither unalterable nor unimproveable. Every where they improved the government, the laws, the arts, and even the literature of the country. We are compelled at length, however reluctantly, to abandon our extravagant and fanciful notions of ancient Hindoo civilization, and to come to the rational conclusion, that the Hindoos were always inferior to their conquerors, of whatever denomination: these conquerors effected all, in im-

\* The population of the Madras Presidency, according to a census taken a few years back, was found to amount to 13,508,535 souls.

† "Nor have their religious prejudices, and the unchangeableness of their habits, been less exaggerated. Some of the best informed of their nation, with whom I have conversed, assure me that half their most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life, are borrowed from their Mahomedan conquerors; and at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in every thing, which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will, probably, to still more important. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. They drive the best horses, and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature."—*Heber's Journal*, vol. ii, p. 306.

proving them, that was within the scope of their ability; but still, as they were not a very powerful, or a very civilized people themselves, they are far indeed from having effected what is in our power to accomplish.

The great majority of British sojourners in India are in the Bengal provinces, and a vast majority of these within the comparatively narrow limits of the town of Calcutta: the whole number of such sojourners does not exceed three thousand persons, of which we compute that about two-thirds are inhabitants of Calcutta; the remaining third, dispersed and powerless, being scattered over the nearly 600,000 square miles beyond its limits. It is, therefore, in the European towns alone, and especially in Calcutta, that there exists any thing like an efficient cause for change and improvement; and, considering the smallness of the means, change and improvement have, since the era of the free trade, the short compass of fourteen years, been great and remarkable.

One striking example may be given. The native inhabitants of Calcutta having been admitted two years ago to sit as petty jurymen in criminal cases, an official list of qualified persons was duly published. The qualification, in respect to education, was, such a knowledge of the English language as should enable the party to follow the judge in his charge; and in point of property, an estate of the value of £500 sterling, or the payment of a house rent of £5 per annum. Persons possessing an estate of the value of £20,000 were exempted from serving on common juries. The lists, admitted to be imperfect, showed eighty-four qualified Indians, of whom no less than fifty-seven were men possessing an estate of £20,000 or upwards.

From this simple fact, several most interesting and important deductions may be drawn. Not many years ago, even a miserable smattering of the English language was confined to a few profligate persons, whose interests brought them into immediate connexion with Europeans for no good purposes. We have here persons representing property worth, at the lowest possible estimate, £1,140,000, possessing not only a knowledge of the English language, but sufficient European education to enable them to comprehend the charge of a British judge to a jury. Of the whole number of persons

competent to serve on juries, more than sixty-seven in a hundred are of this wealthy class, showing pretty clearly that it is the higher and not the lower, or even middling orders, that are most disposed to receive European education. In the list of native jurors, there is not to be found a single Mahomedan name, either of Hindostan, Persia, or Arabia: the whole is composed of the alleged *unchangeable* Hindoos. Further, the great majority of these wealthy persons are Brahmins, and all of them men of high caste. The different reception which the jury bill received at the commercial settlement of Calcutta, where there is much intercourse with Europeans, and at the uncommercial settlement of Madras, where there is very little, ought not to be passed over. The natives of Madras held meetings, and declared that it was repugnant to their habits, institutions, religious prejudices, and inclinations, to sit on juries. One might almost suppose that the advocates of restriction in Europe had been reading them a lesson. The natives of Calcutta received the boon with satisfaction, and set about preparing petitions to Parliament, praying to be admitted to the privilege of sitting on grand, as well as petty, juries. In the course of the present session these petitions have been laid before Parliament.

The number of schools instituted at Calcutta and its vicinity, for the instruction of natives in English education, during the last few years, is extraordinary. In the town, there are twenty private religious, or benevolent institutions engaged, directly or indirectly, in the promotion of European education. In some of these, natives of the highest rank and greatest wealth have associated themselves with Europeans. Five years ago there were, in Calcutta or its neighbourhood, forty-three private schools, for the instruction of the Indians in English. As to disinclination to European learning, this is wholly out of the question. On the contrary, both the interests and the practical good sense of the natives lead them to give it a decided preference, notwithstanding some foolish attempts made to restrain them, by diverting their principal attention to the barren field of their own languages, literature, and philosophy! Even the Hindoo religion seems to be giving way before the light of reason; and it is well it should, for, independent of its spiritual consequences, the influence

which this degrading superstition exercises over civil society, is pernicious and demoralizing, far beyond that of any other known form of worship.\*

English laws and institutions, at least such as are suitable and rational, are equally popular with the Hindoos, notwithstanding the pains taken at one period to convince the English public to the contrary, and to make them believe that they were unalterably attached to their own. What but this attachment has peopled the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay? What but this partiality makes a real property in Calcutta worth twenty years' purchase, when in the provinces it is not worth five? What but this makes a Hindoo contented with an interest of five or six per cent. for his money in the capital, when he might receive in the provinces twenty or twenty-four? The Indians, in short, are thoroughly imbued with a just sense of the advantages of being considered British subjects, and of living under the protection of English law.† When the natives, living within the pale of the English law, contrast their own prosperity and security with the poverty, disorder, and anarchy of the provinces, how should they feel otherwise?

Some eminent persons have expressed an opinion that the Hindoos stood in no need of improvement, or at all events that they were not likely to be bettered by any intercourse with us. This wanton hypothesis is fortunately nearly obsolete.

\* "But of all idolatries which I have ever read or heard of, the religion of the Hindoos, in which I have taken some pains to inform myself, really appears to me the worst, both in the degrading notions which it gives of the Deity; in the endless round of its burdensome ceremonies, which occupy the time and distract the thoughts, without either instructing or interesting its votaries; in the filthy acts of uncleanness and cruelty, not only permitted, but enjoined, and inseparably interwoven with those ceremonies; in the system of castes, a system which ~~taxes~~, more than any thing else the devil has yet invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine-tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder; and in the total absence of any popular system of morals, or any single lesson which the people at large ever hear, to live virtuously, and do good to each other."—*Bishop Heber's Journal*, vol. ii. page 384.

† "And it may be relied on, that the natives in general, but more particularly the Hindoos of all ranks, are proud of the distinction, (British subjects under the protection of the laws of England) and zealous for its full extension to them."—*Chief Justice East's Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*.

If it be right, that a mischievous, degrading, and often a blood-thirsty superstition should be supplanted by rational religion,—that knowledge should supersede ignorance,—that feebleness and sloth should give way to energy and industry,—that poverty should be exchanged for wealth,—then the Hindoos stand in need of improvement, and it is our duty not to *réfuse* it to them.

We repeat, that the only suitable and efficient means of improving our conquered subjects,—the only means by which one people ever conferred lasting and solid improvement upon another,—is a free and unshackled intercourse between the two parties. Will the stability of our dominion be impaired by the improvement of the Hindoos? Poor and ignorant nations are always the most liable to delusion, and the most subject to insurrection; wealthy and intelligent ones the least so. In proportion, therefore, as the Hindoos become instructed, and are rescued from their present poverty, they will only be the more easy of management. This easy management, of course, supposes the introduction of laws and institutions suitable to, and keeping pace with, their advancement in civilization. They cannot always be governed as mere helots; nor would a nation of helots be worth the governing: they must be gradually, and as they improve, admitted to a share in their own administration. If this principle be prudently and liberally acted upon, we may maintain our Indian dominion for many centuries. Sooner or later, be our administration good or bad, and soonest unquestionably in the latter case, we must lose it; for a relation which separates the governors from the governed, by a navigation of 15,000 miles, (the latter being to the former in the numerical proportion of seven to one,) cannot be a very natural or a very useful connexion to either party. In the meanwhile, such of the Hindoos as have partaken of European education, are not ambitious,—they are a frugal, and rather a mercenary people, with very little disposition to engage in politics.

If the account which we have given of the predilection of the Hindoos and other Indians, for our language, literature, useful institutions, and knowledge, be just, (and we have full reliance upon its being so,) every Indian who acquires an English education becomes, of necessity, a convert to what may be called our political opinions, and consequently an additional support to our dominion. Should the natives

abandon their own superstitions, (the matter is already in progress,) and adopt our religious opinions, this will be an additional tie. Their conversion, whether civil or religious, must necessarily be gradual, and will be the safer and more efficient for being so, but every convert of either description will be an additional stay to the support of our dominion. Every conquest of this description, which we make upon the province of ignorance and dissatisfaction, will be a fresh accession to our own strength. The result, hitherto at least, has been exactly what we are describing it. Those among the natives who understand our language and manners, and whom experience has taught to appreciate our institutions, are invariably found to be the most faithful of our subjects; indeed, perhaps the only portion of our Indian subjects at all attached to our rule,—the only portion, in truth, who have any good reason for it. This was felt and acknowledged during the recent contest with the Birmans, and the insurrection of the Jats. The Government, indeed, was so confident of the fidelity of the great population of Calcutta, where those advantages are chiefly felt and appreciated, that it did not scruple to send away the principal military force to the seat of war, abandoning the capital with its three hundred thousand inhabitants to the protection of a few companies of European infantry, and the good-will of its inhabitants. A separation between us and the Hindoos cannot reasonably be looked for until the great majority of the latter think, speak, and act,—in a word, are as wise as their masters; an event which, with modesty and caution be it spoken, cannot be expected to take place under many centuries.

If we had no other object in view than to maintain an easy rule over the Hindoos, it would be our duty to civilize and improve them; for there is no axiom in political science more true, than the one which we have already hinted at,—that prosperous and industrious communities are the most easy to govern, and poor and ignorant ones the most prone to revolt, and the most obstinate in resistance when they have revolted. Of this principle the history of the world is full of illustrations. In the progress of her conquests, Rome found the most civilized nations the easiest to subdue, and the most easy to retain in obedience when subjugated, as in the case of Egypt and of Greece, with the colonies of the latter in Italy and

Asia Minor. She found the barbarous or savage tribes of Gaul, Germany, Pannonia, Britain, Africa, and Arabia the most difficult to conquer, and the most prone to revolt when conquered. The two most wealthy, and upon the whole the two most civilized countries of Asia, (China and Hindostan) have invariably been found the most easy to conquer, and the least liable to insurrection. China has been peaceably governed for ages by a Tartar dynasty, while the poor and turbulent tribes of shepherds, from whom that very dynasty sprung, and who are still ruled by it, have been in a state of repeated and formidable revolt against it. We ourselves have found the wealthiest parts of India the most easy conquests. The easy-won battle of Plassy gave us the dominion of Bengal, and the adjacent provinces, with twenty millions of subjects, among whom, in a period of sixty-eight years, there has not been an instance of revolt—scarcely, indeed, of a tumult worth naming. On the other hand, our conquests of poorer countries have been attended with difficulty,—have often been followed by insurrection, and have been hardly worth keeping when made. We have examples of this in Malabar, in Nepaul, and in our recent contest with the Burmese. In the progress of European conquests among the Eastern islands, we find interesting illustrations of the same principle. Java, the only rich, civilized, and populous island of the Archipelago, is the only considerable one of the whole group which has been completely subjugated by European arms. In the course of two centuries, the Dutch and the English have hardly even made an impression on the great, but comparatively, uncivilized islands of Sumatra, Celebes, and Borneo. Their ephemeral conquests in these have been followed by repeated revolts. Even the petty spice islands have not been subjugated but with the utmost difficulty, and their history is remarkable for the frequency and pertinacity of their rebellions. The conquest of Java itself, of which the inhabitants are much less civilized than those of our Indian possessions, has cost the labour of two centuries. The Spaniards have been for about four centuries engaged in attempting the conquest of the Philippines and adjacent islands, and are as yet far from having accomplished their object. Where conquest has actually been effected by them, it has not been accomplished by the despotism of Spain, or the valour of the Spanish armies, or the

skill of Spanish functionaries, or the magic of Spanish monopolies, but by the quiet, yet efficacious operation of the principle of colonization,—through the influence of the language, the religion, the manners, and the knowledge of Europe. The history of the East affords no example of resistance to European arms more memorable than that of the uncivilized and scanty population of Ceylon. While the Portuguese made, for so small a nation, ample conquests on the continent of India, and while their naval power was paramount from Africa to Japan, they were foiled in every attempt to conquer the poor and abject inhabitants of Ceylon. The Dutch, after many years' efforts, succeeded no better. Even the English were full twenty years in possession of the sovereignty of the coast before they effected the conquest of the whole island,—of an island containing about one-twentieth part of the population of Bengal, which was won by a single battle in the very infancy of our power. That conquest, too, was hardly completed when a most formidable insurrection broke out, which nothing short of the direct efforts of the mother country, and the powerful aid drawn from the British possessions on the Continent, was able to quell. Similar illustrations may be drawn from the history of America. Compare the easy and permanent submission of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and other principal nations, with the brave resistance, often ending only with extermination, of the smaller tribes of savages of the same continent.

But if the resistance of nations, who have little property, be obstinate, and their insurrections formidable, the revolt of people who have no property at all, is still more to be apprehended. The insurrections, most dangerous to the Roman power, were not those of revolted colonies, or conquered nations, but of slaves and gladiators. The revolt of the slaves of St. Domingo is an equally strong case. Embracing a favourable moment, and favoured, indeed, by climate and by distance, they succeeded in securing a national independence against all the efforts of the two most powerful and civilized nations of Europe. Had the fine island of St. Domingo, instead of containing a scanty population of African slaves, been peopled with five or six millions of Hindoos, who, that knows the latter, can doubt but that it would, down to this day, have been a French, or at least an English colony, and

peradventure, in the latter case, a preserve of patronage to some "Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the West Indies," proclaiming the dangers of colonization, and insisting upon the certain advantages that would accrue to the British nation, if the Legislature would but confide to it the exclusive right of supplying the lieges with rum, coffee, and muscovadoes!

It is very true that there are other elements besides the mere wealth or poverty of nations,—besides their knowledge or their ignorance, which may materially affect the facility or difficulty of subduing or governing them. The seat of the most civilized nations will commonly be in open plains traversed by rivers, and this locality necessarily affords facilities, both for subduing them and retaining them in subjection. The seats of barbarous people, on the other hand, will often be in mountains, fastnesses, and forests, affording obstacles to the invader, and throwing difficulties in the way of retaining the conquered party in subjection. A civilized people, again, will afford the invader the resources calculated to maintain themselves in subjection, while the circumstances of a barbarous people will necessarily deny them. It is needless to say, that we make no reference to the case of civilized nations possessing national independence, civil liberty, and high intelligence. There are none such to be found in the East, nor are there likely to be for ages. Our posterity, four or five centuries hence, may have to provide for such a contingency, but it is surely not our business, as an honest people, deliberately to obstruct the progress of civilization from a remote apprehension of its occurrence.

There is one argument which has been used against the free settlement of Englishmen in India that we have not yet noticed, but which richly deserves exposure. It has been said that the natives ought to be patronised and protected—meaning protected from British emigrants; and that, with this view, all intercourse with them ought to be confined to the public functionaries of the Government. It has even been asserted that in all parallel cases, nations with despotic governments have been found to make the best masters, and nations with free institutions the very worst. Without hesitation we engage to prove that this doctrine is contradicted by all history, and that the very reverse of it is strictly true, without an exception.

We ask, in the first place, what the reader would think of a project for civilizing the Irish, based on the principle of excluding Englishmen, or the descendants of Englishmen, from improving the soil of Ireland,—based on placing all commercial intercourse with England under severe restrictions,—and based on confining the whole intercourse between the Irish and English nations to the judicial officers, constables, tax-gatherers, and tithe-proctors temporarily nominated by the latter? Such a scheme would be quite perfect, if the object was to keep the Irish in inextricable barbarism and certain misery; and yet it is a fair parallel of the project of the East India Company for civilizing the Hindoos, for securing their happiness, and improving their condition.

The progress of nations in valuable improvement and effectual civilization has never been brought about in any age or climate, except through an intercourse with strangers,—operating most beneficially through commerce, immigration, and peaceable settlement, but also operating beneficially, even through conquest itself. Primitive civilization has been confined to a very few spots of the globe. Wherever it has existed, it will be found, when abandoned to its own efforts, immature and insipid. It is the forest fruit tree transferred to the orchard, but of which, while denied the benefit of grafting, no care can improve the fruit. We have only to refer for proof to the civilization of the Hindoos themselves, especially where there has been the least of admixture with strangers,—to the civilization of ancient Egypt,—of Assyria,—of Arabia, before the time of Mahomed,—of ancient Persia,—of China,—and of Peru and Mexico, before the Spanish invasion. In all these countries despotism was established,—the people were slaves,—society made a certain progress, and then it stood still for ages, apparently incapable of moving onwards. Wherever civilization has struck a vigorous root, and produced wholesome and mature fruit, it will invariably be found to have been brought about by an admixture with strangers,—in short, by the ingraftment of exotic improvement on the rude stock of domestic acquisition. The Greeks were barbarians, until their intercourse with Italians, with Egyptians, with Persians, and even with Indians. The Romans were a rude people until their collision with strangers; they chiefly owed their civilization to their admixture with the Greeks. The Western nations of ancient Europe owed almost

every thing to their subjugation by Rome, and the planting among them of Roman colonies. The nations in the immediate neighbourhood of China have, at one time or another, been conquered by that people, who settled among them, communicated to them their language, laws, arts, and customs. In proportion as Chinese conquest and Chinese intermixture has taken place, will these nations be found improved ; and it is a conclusive fact, that the few tribes excluded from this advantage, continue to the present day in a savage state. The nations bordering upon Hindostan are civilized, or otherwise, just in proportion to the degree in which they have intermixed with the Hindoos, or been isolated from them. The Hindoos themselves, again, have been improved by an admixture with Tartars, Persians, and Arabs, as is sufficiently attested by the disappearance of human sacrifices, and other atrocities, of the existence of which, and in times not very remote, their own writings, if good for nothing else, afford sufficient evidence. The Arabs, left for ages to themselves before the time of Mahomed, continued in a stationary condition, but made a sudden start in civilization as soon as they went abroad, and came into collision with strangers. The intermixture of these Arabs with Persians and Tartars, through conquests made upon the latter, improved the Persians and Tartars. In the great Eastern Archipelago, the Hindoos and the Arabs, each in their turn, have improved the inhabitants. That improvement has just been in proportion to the commerce held with these strangers, and where that commerce has not taken place at all, the Islanders are either cowering savages, or ferocious cannibals.

Our own country is an example not less instructive. What would the inhabitants of the British isles themselves have been at this day, had the Romans forborne to invade our country,—had they left our ancestors in undisputed possession of their freedom, their painted skins, and their human sacrifices ? Has civilization not advanced amongst us with every new admixture with strangers, whether Roman, Saxon, Danish, or Norman ? and this, too, although the intermixture was accompanied on all these occasions by violence, the very occupants of the soil being often expelled from their possessions. In later times, and in a different form, we have derived abundant advantages from the settlement of foreigners amongst us : we are under serious

obligations, on this head, to Jews, Flemings, and Lombards. But surely all this is too obvious to be insisted upon. The only wonder is how any man of sense should have thought of making the Hindoos, in their relation to us, the sole exception to a principle which has always embraced, and still continues to embrace, all the rest of mankind. Are the English and the Hindoos the only two people to which society, in the course of thirty ages, and amidst all her freaks, has given birth, who are wholly unfit to be entrusted to a social intercourse with each other?

We are next to examine, briefly, the question, whether in reference to our Indian administration, a free, or a despotic form of government, is the most likely to conduce to the improvement and happiness of our Indian subjects, for even such a question has been mooted. It has been distinctly asserted that the Indians would have been better treated under the subjects of a despotic, than of a free government. History has been appealed to in support of this hypothesis, which, notwithstanding the authority of Montesquieu, and its recent revival by a distinguished and experienced member of the British Legislature, we do not hesitate to pronounce a mere paradox, and a paradox, too, at direct variance with all authentic experience having any legitimate reference whatever to the question at issue.\* The free states of Greece and Italy.

\* "He wished he could agree with his Right Honourable Friend (Sir James Mackintosh) in what had fallen from him on the subject of the intercourse between the inhabitants of India and the Europeans. He was sorry to say, if he looked back to all history, if he investigated the character and conduct of his own countrymen, that he was obliged to come to this conclusion, that the more free the government was at home, the more persons who had been used to such a government, held others, who had not the happiness to enjoy the same privileges, in contempt,—the more they abused their feelings, and despised a condition which they ought rather to commiserate. Though this might not be, as he dared say, a common doctrine, yet, certainly, he held it. He did believe that if India were subject to persons who had been under a despotic government at home, they would be treated much better than by those who had enjoyed the blessings of a free government. In the minds of the latter, the condition of the people in India would be sure to generate contempt. Look at the Spartan government; was there ever a more free government? Were there ever more harsh or more cruelly severe masters than the Spartans? Look at home, and they would find the same thing to have been the case there. He perfectly concurred with the doctrine of his

treated the nations which they conquered generally with barbarity. By the laws of war in ancient times, prisoners were either put to death, or doomed to perpetual slavery. They escaped one or other of these lots, only when they were too numerous, and when, therefore, it was too dangerous for the conqueror to carry the law into effect; or possibly in some cases, when the latter might have the wisdom to discover that it was more profitable to protect than to exterminate or disfranchise. The despotic states of antiquity followed the same course as free nations, and the humanity of the Persians was not a whit more distinguished than that of the Greeks and Romans. All this then proves nothing, except that the nations of antiquity throughout were, in this particular at least, mere barbarians. All barbarous nations of modern times follow precisely the same course as those of antiquity. In the wars carried on between the Birmans and Siamese, captives of rank who cannot work, and who might intrigue, are put to death, and the lower orders are condemned to slavery. The Chinese, and people of Hindostan being somewhat more civilized, treat their prisoners somewhat better. The nearer nations are to each other, and the smaller the tribe, the more violent is the collision between them, the more rancorous and inveterate their hostility, and consequently the severer the lot of the conquered party. The contest in such a case becomes a kind of family feud. The most remarkable example of this description, and one often quoted, as an illustration of the misconduct of freemen towards their dependents, is that of the Spartans to the helots. Two small neighbouring nations of Greece have a quarrel: the one conquers the other, and provoked by repeated revolts, dooms the conquered party to perpetual slavery. The conquerors in this case were, even in comparison with the rest of their countrymen, a fierce and uncivilized people, remarkable only for their courage and their love of liberty. Now, we seriously ask what possible bearing

Right Honourable Friend, that it was wise to blend the conquerors with the conquered; but the system which had been hitherto pursued would, under the course pointed out by his Right Honourable Friend, be extremely unsafe, until years of experience and reparation had undone the mischief that had already been effected."—*Speech of the Right Honourable Charles Wynn, in his place in Parliament, June 17th, 1828—Times Newspaper.*

the case of two petty neighbouring tribes of ancient Greece, the one treating the other with a degree of rigour even beyond the practice of the age, can have upon that of modern Britain and modern India, separated from each other by half the circumference of the globe, and whose joint numbers probably exceed in a fifty-fold proportion that of all Greece put together?

Hostile political factions, even in the freest and most polished states of ancient Greece, often treated each other worse than the Spartans did the helots. They proscribed, banished, extirpated one another: but as well might this be quoted as an argument against liberty in general, as the brutality of the Spartans towards the helots be imagined of the English in reference to the Hindoos. In modern times, and amongst rude nations, we have many cases akin to the conduct of the Spartans. The tribes of the great Island of Celebes, for example, like those of ancient Greece, speak, for the most part, the same language, have the same laws, the same religion, the same institutions, and (after a fashion of their own) enjoy perhaps a larger share of personal and political liberty than any people of Asia. This does not hinder them from being in a perpetual state of warfare with each other, and the nearest neighbours are always the bitterest enemies. The constant practice of the victorious party, when it can be done with safety, (for they are perfect Spartans in this respect,) is to declare the conquered to be reduced to the state of slavery. It cannot be fairly inferred, however, from the conduct of these barbarians, that the people of Boni represent the English, or those of Macassar the Hindoos.

The maltreatment of the African race, in a state of slavery, by the free nations of Europe and America, and their alleged better treatment on the part of nations with despotic governments, has been cited as examples of the benefits of despotism to the subjugated party. The relation between the Africans and their European masters, and that between the Indians and the modern conquerors of Hindostan, have no one point of similitude that we can perceive. The African is a slave—the Indian only a subject. European Governments early declared the first to be a chattel, but the British Government has made no such enactment in regard to the latter. Their very legislatures themselves, in the case of the African, sanctioned and

authorized the wide distinction drawn between the African and European races. They declared a man with a black skin to be the property of a man with a white skin, and setting out with such a principle, they have little right to charge any unpleasant collision which may have ensued from the exercise of rights deliberately conferred by themselves, upon liberty in the abstract. But besides this there prevailed in Europe, at one time, and perhaps it is not yet absolutely extinct, a strong prejudice against flat noses and sooty complexions very hurtful to the temporal interests of the African. Some, indeed, carried their antipathy so far in this respect as to believe that an acute facial line could not, by any possibility, be accompanied by a due proportion of humanity, and this was, of course, an additional aggravation. As far as the conduct of masters can be good, under such circumstances as those in which the Africans are placed in reference to their European superiors, the example of the United States of America is a sufficient proof, that the conduct of the freest nation is not inferior to that of the most despotic. It is enough to state that the Africans, within the territory of the Union, although living in a climate more foreign to their race than any other, are the only persons in the same condition, whose numbers rapidly augment, or, indeed, augment at all, through natural increase. Our own history, for the last thirty years, evinces that as our notions of liberty improve, so does our conduct towards the slave population of our colonies, and this fact applies not only to the Legislature and people of England, but even to the Colonial Legislatures, and to the very slave proprietors themselves.

The conduct pursued by different European nations, at different periods, towards the aboriginal natives of America, illustrates the same truth. The early conduct of the Spaniards towards the Indians, when there was surely no want of despotism in their government, and when the administration of the Spanish settlements was not despotical alone, but had not even the semblance of law, is a very proverb for its cruelty and brutality. The patronage which it afterwards bestowed, and which sprung rather out of religion than policy, was scarcely less hurtful to the Americans, than their previous persecution. Under the free governments of America, these natives are now admitted to equal rights with their fellow-subjects, and some of them

have even attained seats in their Legislatures. During the war carried on against the despotism of Spain, the excitement produced elicited from them a degree of energy and enterprise little to be expected from the long lethargy in which their characters had lain, and if accounts are to be relied upon, they are now advancing rapidly in improvement. It was when our own notions of liberty were crude and imperfect, that we hunted down and exterminated the savage tribes of North America. Both we and our descendants now treat the remnant of these same savages with a consideration and humanity unknown to our ancestors.\*

The history of European ascendancy in India itself is to a similar effect. The despotism of Spain and Portugal are the only two Governments which ever instituted any thing like a religious persecution of the natives. It was only when the Spaniards and Portuguese had themselves colonized, and, in religion and manners, assimilated with the native inhabitants, that their conduct became tolerant, and their administration conciliatory. The Dutch, whose Indian Government at least, had always been purely despotical, because, for the most part, vested in a corporate body little subject to the control of the

\* "At the establishment of the Federal Government, under the present constitution of the United States, the principle was adopted of considering them (the savage tribes) as foreign and independent powers, and also as proprietors of lands. They were moreover considered as savages whom it was our policy and our duty to use our influence in converting to Christianity, and bringing within the pale of civilization. As independent powers, we negotiated with them by treaties; as proprietors, we purchased of them all the lands which we could prevail upon them to sell; as brethren of the human race, rude and ignorant, we endeavoured to bring them to the knowledge of religion and letters. The ultimate design was to incorporate, in our own institutions, that portion of them which could be converted to the state of civilization. In the practice of European states, before our revolution, they had been considered as children, to be governed; as tenants at discretion, to be dispossessed as occasion might require; as hunters, to be indemnified by trifling concessions for removal from the grounds upon which their game was extirpated."—This quotation, which is from the last speech of Mr. President Adams to Congress, will, we presume, be considered as a fair representation of the policy of the United States of America towards the savage tribes living within its territory. We do not hesitate to say, that the history of despotism, ancient or modern, may be looked into in vain for any thing parallel to it.

State, were, throughout, remarkable for their mismanagement of the Indians. The French, and surely their Government was despotic enough under Louis XV, were, notwithstanding the known amenity of their manners elsewhere, eminently unsuccessful in conciliating the natives of India; and it is a circumstance well ascertained, that their violations of native rights and usages contributed, in no small degree, to their failure in that country. Their conduct, in this respect, was always less discreet, and even less humane, than ours, with our free Government and our free institutions. Our East India Company must not take the merit of this to themselves, for the French also had their East India Company and their East India monopoly.

What, however, will perhaps be considered as more to the point than all that has now been adduced, is this, that every improvement made by ourselves towards rendering the Government of India a government by law,—every admission either of Englishmen or of Indians to a share, however small, of constitutional rights,—every departure from a Government purely arbitrary, has increased our popularity with the native inhabitants, and tended to the consolidation of our power.

During the first twenty years of our Indian rule, virtual, or sanctioned by treaty, our government of India was purely arbitrary; the East India Company administered territory, and resources, without any legal authority whatever. Was this period distinguished by a conciliatory conduct towards the native inhabitants,—by attention to native rights, usages, and institutions? Quite the contrary; it was characterized by violation of native rights, fraud and corruption on the part of the public officers, confusion, anarchy, and rebellion. Reform commenced with the interference of Parliament, and wherever it has interfered, to bestow constitutional rights, our good treatment of the inhabitants has kept pace with it. It will be sufficient to refer to the restoration by its authority, of proprietors to lands, of which they had been dispossessed;—the institution of courts of justice, independent of the civil governments, the most popular and useful innovation of all;—the appointment, instead of the officers of the Company's Government, of English statesmen to be governors,—with the local improvements introduced by these;—the extension of the commercial intercourse with Great Britain, with the increased intercourse between the

English and Indians, to which it has necessarily given rise; and finally, the conferring upon the natives the right of sitting upon juries. There is scarcely one of these innovations that was not deprecated at the time of its introduction, and not one that has not proved eminently beneficial.

The project of bestowing peculiar patronage on the weak and disfranchised classes of society is one from which arbitrary governments have often endeavoured to draw to themselves a little popularity. The East India Company, like others of the same family, has repeatedly come forward as the champion of the Hindoos. Having themselves already loaded these Hindoos with taxes, and disfranchised them, they manfully step forward to protect them against imaginary danger from others. We have one notable example on record of the consequences of such patronage, the protection which Spain afforded to the American Indians against its own European subjects or their descendants. The case is so much in point that it deserves to be adverted to. By the code of laws made for the protection of the native Americans, they were pronounced to be of pure blood; their chiefs had the privileges of Spanish nobles; the natives who lived in separate villages were restrained from wandering from them, with the most patriarchal tenderness for their safety; they were governed exclusively by officers of their own tribes; above all, neither Spaniards nor persons of the mixed races, were allowed to settle among them,—to buy, or in any manner to encroach upon their lands. To prevent their simplicity from being abused, the Indians were prohibited from disposing of their real property, even amongst themselves, without the intervention of a magistrate;—they could neither contract nor conclude bargains for a greater sum than the value of three Spanish dollars. Every species of oppression to which they were exposed was minutely guarded against by law, and a suitable remedy provided for it. In a word, they were placed under the protection of all the constituted authorities of the Spanish Government, who were bound to defend them from injustice and secure them from wrong. Such were the elaborate pains taken by the Government of Spain for the protection of its Indian subjects. The consequences are too well known.\*

\* The following description of these consequences is taken from the review of the Baron Humboldt's great work, in the 16th vol. of the *Edinburgh Review*. We copy it the more readily, from knowing that it

The Indians, not only deprived of all national independence, but reduced to a state of pupilage by the affected securities bestowed upon them, lost all energy of character, even that little which belonged to them under their native Government, while the mixed races, and creoles, who not only had no patronage or peculiar securities, but, on the contrary, were subjected to innumerable disabilities, have, in spite of all the efforts and oppression of Spain, acquired a force of character, the results of which are sufficiently known. There are so many features of resemblance between the sort of protection which Spain bestowed upon the American Indians, and that which we ourselves would affect to bestow upon the Hindoos, that it is impossible the reader should not be struck with the similarity. There are, to be sure, circumstances in the condition of the Hindoos, and in the nature of our relations with them, which must always prevent the pretended patronage of the East India Company from becoming so mischievous in its operation as that of the Spanish Government. In the first place, our patronage is not carried so far, because the Hindoos, a people far more elevated in the scale of society than the Mexicans and Peruvians, would not for a moment endure such vexatious and pernicious trammels. In the next, a competition for labour on the part of foreign settlers cannot take place in a densely-peopled country like India, as it did in the thinly-peopled regions of America. The American could afford to be idle, to be a mere drone, or the next thing to it, while the settler or emigrant laboured. On the contrary, the stimulus of necessity im-

is from the pen of a great philosopher and an eloquent writer, the late Professor Playfair.—“This system of favour and protection to the Indians,” says he, after a description of the laws enacted in their behalf, as we have transcribed them in the text, “was, no doubt, dictated by motives of humanity; but it may be questioned whether some of its provisions have not contributed essentially to retard their progress in culture and civilization. The permission conceded to them, of living in separate communities, under Caciques of their own nation, without any intermixture of strangers, excludes them from instruction, perpetuates their ignorance, and subjects them to the oppression of magistrates, against whom they have no means of redress, as they are seldom acquainted with any other language than their own. The state of pupilage in which they are kept, as a protection against fraud and imposition, destroys the energy of their character, and detains them in perpetual childhood.”

parts to the Hindoo a certain portion of industry which protects him from an equal debasement. The Hindoos then are not in a condition that will admit of their being reduced by particular patronage to the state of dull and apathetic ignorance to which it has reduced the American Indian. \* An impertinent protection, however, and the exclusion of all those means which have contributed to the improvement of other races of men, may keep the Hindoos stationary for ever, and its influence, in effecting this purpose, has been exerted unquestionably with no inconsiderable success during the last half century; ever since the rigid proscription of interlopers, the virtual exclusion of English enterprise and capital; ever, in a word, since the East India Company became the avowed and exclusive patrons of the people of India.

For a government administering a country, occupied by various races, in different and opposite states of society, there is, if the Legislator desire to escape from the evil of perpetuating the feebleness and degradation of the great mass of the people on the one hand, and the domination and tyranny of a caste on the other, but one safe course to pursue, viz. to confer upon all the same rights and immunities, and the same just and equal administration of laws. Any departure from this principle inevitably leads to injustice, inconvenience, and confusion. Peculiar patronage to the weak is especially a dangerous illusion. The feeble and ignorant must be placed in a state of wholesome collision, and fair emulation with the strong and the intelligent, as the only practicable means of sharpening and invigorating their faculties, and raising them in the scale of society. Such has ever been the nature of the discipline by which, in every well-regulated community, the industrious and talented of the lower classes have been raised to an equality with the middling orders,—that the middling orders, with similar endowments, have emulated, or equalled the higher;—and that the higher themselves have been hindered from degenerating into drones or tyrants. India, indeed, is not exactly the field where the most rapid improvement can be looked for, even under the freest operation of this indispensable principle. Here there are obvious circumstances connected with distinctions of race, of complexion, of religion, and of manners, which will, more or less, obstruct or narrow its beneficial influence; but it would be utter idleness to imagine that

the main-spring of social improvement in every other age and climate should lie dormant and inoperative,—nay, should be even prejudicial in reference to British India.

It has been often asserted, that India ought not to be held for the exclusive benefit of England, and that the security and protection of our Indian subjects ought to be the main object of our policy.\* This assertion supposes, according to our judgment, one of the most untenable doctrines ever advanced; it supposes that the mother country may be benefited by the misgovernment of its colony, and that, in short, their interests are opposite and divided: they are, however, inseparable and indissoluble; it is impossible to misgovern the one without inflicting an injury upon the other; the wealth and prosperity of India are sure to produce advantages to England, while her poverty, oppression, or unfair and unequal treatment, even under the guise of favouring metropolitan industry, are sure, in the long run, to render all intercourse with her unprofitable or valueless. Did England benefit by the restraints imposed upon Irish industry, although advowedly imposed for her own interest? or, rather, is it not notorious that these restraints were equally prejudicial to both parties, and, that in propor-

\* “He was glad to see, and hoped there would be a much more extensive communication between Europeans and India; but then, he regretted to say, there must be a continuance of the same strict regulations. He held it absolutely necessary that the inhabitants of India should be protected. That ought to be their chief object. India must not be held solely for the benefit of this country,—solely as a means of wealth to England. They had a higher duty to perform in providing for the security and happiness of the inhabitants.”—*Speech of the Right Honourable C. W. Wynn, late President of the Board of Control, in his place in Parliament. Times Newspaper, 18th June, 1828.*—We have preferred quoting in this, as in former instances, the opinions of a man of talent and information, to those of vulgar objectors, chiefly because they exhibit the prevalence of, what we deem to be, serious errors, even in the highest quarters. Mr. Wynn is the author of the only measure of a generous and constitutional character which has been enacted for the good government of India for many years past,—the admission of Indians to the right of sitting on juries; and, therefore, we cannot be suspected of any disrespect or disinclination towards him. The liberal sentiments, indeed, contained in many parts of the speech from which we have quoted, it may be added, are quite new in an official man, and afford a cheering evidence of the progress of just opinions on the most vital questions connected with Indian legislation.

tion as they have been removed, both have been benefited? The case cannot be otherwise in regard to the connexion between Great Britain and India.

Previous to the year 1814 both England and India had suffered sufficiently from the system of restriction under which we had acted, but England undoubtedly was the greatest sufferer of the two. There had then been incurred, on the credit of the British nation, for the use of India, a debt of one sort or another amounting at the very lowest calculation to thirty-four millions sterling: the people of England paid before then, as they now do, on account of a monopoly which we have been often told was for the benefit of the people of India, a yearly contribution of some two millions sterling, and the commerce of the people of England had been excluded from half the world,—all for the supposed benefit of the people of India. What advantage did England derive to compensate for these enormous sacrifices, no one, we think, has ever ventured even to conjecture. Under the ancient system of restriction then, and matters are as yet not very materially altered, the principal disadvantages of the connexion were on the side of England, although we are very far indeed from believing that India reaped corresponding benefits. The allegation that the settlement of Englishmen in India,—their purchase of lands,—their introduction of capital, of arts, of industry, and of useful example, are injurious to the people of that country, is a delusion which we have already sufficiently exposed. The admirers of the ancient order of things—those who, when in possession of the government, created monopolies of the staple articles of the country, and who themselves exercised a right of pre-emption in the Indian markets, have since gone the length of pretending that the introduction of cheap British manufactures was a grievous infliction upon the inhabitants. How a province, not from the nature of things a manufacturing country, can possibly be injured by receiving manufactures from the mother country, eminently a manufacturing one, and at about one-third the price which the province could possibly make them for itself, is to us incomprehensible, and the more especially so, when it is considered that this introduction of cheap manufactures has been accompanied by large increased exports of the raw produce, of every species, which that province is capable of producing. There is, however, an inequality in the duty levied respectively

in England and India upon each other's manufactures, and this has afforded grounds for some vague declamation. The duty levied upon British cottons in India is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. whereas the duty levied upon Indian cottons in England is 10 per cent. making a difference in favour of the English manufacturer of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. which is, no doubt, a very foolish thing, but, it must be added, at the same time, that the distinction, in consequence of the vast disproportion in the cost of the two descriptions of manufacture, is wholly inoperative,—that the discriminating duty, in short, is a dead letter. Were the difference, in reality, to be given as a bonus on the importation of the Indian manufactures, instead of being nominally imposed upon it, it is impossible they should become articles of considerable consumption in this country. We exported cotton manufactures to India, last year, to the value of above two millions sterling, that is, we furnished the Indians for about three millions sterling, with commodities, which, in the good olden times, would, probably, have cost them about nine millions. Who is injured by this proceeding? It is answered, the Indian operative weavers, who formerly furnished the Company's investment, and in the produce of whose labour the Company exercised a right of pre-emption. These weavers, at the utmost a few thousands in number, represent then, the injuries inflicted on a hundred millions of people! But is it really true that even these persons have been injured by the obvious benefit conferred upon the rest of their countrymen? We think it can be very easily shown that they have not. The quantity of Indian cotton goods imported into England, in the year 1814, that is, before the free trade could have operated to their prejudice, was 2,028,126 pieces. In 1828, it was only 435,543 pieces. The loss of market then to the Indian weaver, from the free trade, on a period of fourteen years, amounts yearly to 1,646,585 pieces. These may be valued at present according to the custom-house returns, at £798,119. Cotton, however, is not the only material in which weavers are employed in India. The quantity of pieces of Indian silk (Chinese excluded) imported in 1814, was only 76,550. In 1828 it was 163,906, being an advance of 88,356 pieces, worth about one pound a piece. This reduces the loss of market to the Indian weaver to £709,763. But, besides this, the free trader now supplies the Indian weaver with a new material for his loom, unknown

to him in former times, viz. cotton twist. Including domestic and foreign, there were exported of this commodity, last year to the value, within a small fraction, of £400,000, reducing the loss of market to the Indian weaver to £309,763. It may reasonably be supposed that the additional quantity of the raw produce from India taken by the English market, and which in the three articles of cotton, indigo, and sugar, (Mauritius excluded,) exceeded in value, in 1828, what it was in 1814, by above one million six hundred thousand pounds, is some compensation to India for the no very considerable sum by which the consumption of Indian manufactures has decreased in this country. After the account we have given of the export of cotton twist, and this extenuated representation of the injury done to the weavers, we should not be much surprised to hear the woes of India, from the miseries of free trade, transferred from the latter to the cotton spinners; in which case, the representatives of all India would, necessarily, be reduced to a handful of old women!

Setting, however, all reasoning from such facts as we have now adduced, out of the question, has any one ever heard of an Indian weaver being thrown out of employ, through the introduction of British manufactures? We believe not; nor in such a state of society as exists in India, do we think the thing possible. There may have taken place some modification of the manner in which his labour is employed, but nothing more. We send no coarse fabrics to India, for this obvious reason, that the quantity of skill and labour, added to the prime cost of the raw material, is comparatively trifling; and of this description it is a well ascertained fact, that the production in India, both for consumption and for exportation, has materially increased since the introduction of the free trade. New markets for them have been found in South America, while the old ones, amongst the Indian Islands, the adjacent countries, Persia and Arabia, have been much extended. Instead, then, of manufacturing fine articles for luxury, such as were formerly exported, the Indian weaver now manufactures articles of necessity, of which the consumption is far more general, and for the fabrication of which his qualifications are much better suited. But, if the whole of India were, after all, supplied with British manufactures, what harm would result? The Indian weaver is, in almost

every case, also a cultivator,—passing part of the day at his loom, and part at his plough. In a rude country, comparatively understocked with labourers, where the natural direction of capital is not to manufacturing but to agricultural industry, it would be inflicting no great injury upon him, if he were compelled to employ the whole of his time at the latter only. From being, as always happens in such cases, a bad artisan and a bad husbandman, there might be some prospect of his making a tolerable proficiency in the latter capacity.

THE END.

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